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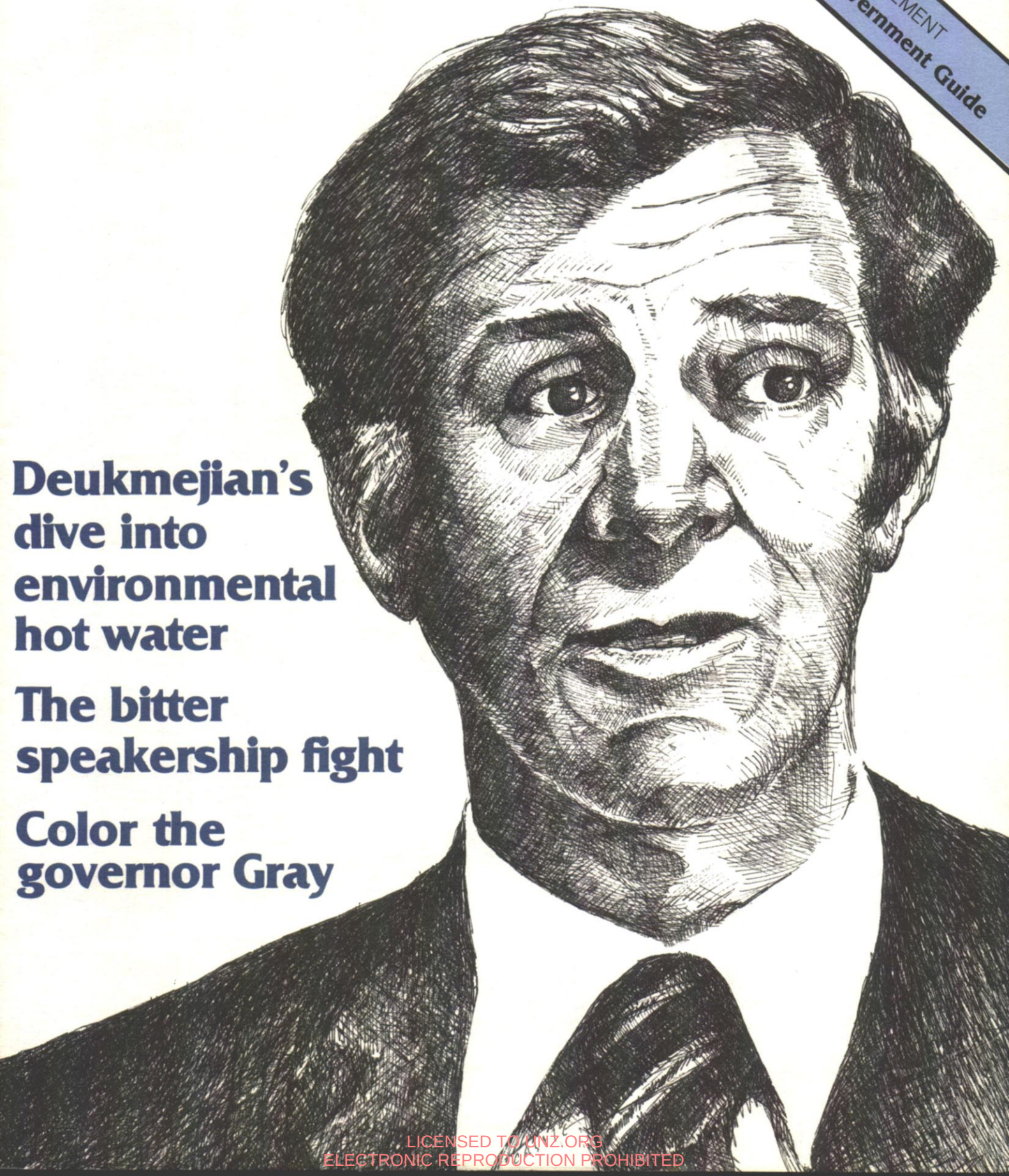
THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT
'80 Roster and Government Guide



Deukmejian's dive into environmental hot water

The bitter speakership fight

Color the governor Gray

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Personal PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman

Decade of the Hispanic

During the holiday season, billboards with this message appeared in some Chicano neighborhoods: "Coors welcomes the '80s . . . The Decade of the Hispanic." In what way will the '80s belong to the state's growing Mexican-American population? Perhaps the Coors proclamation refers to the consumption of *cerveza* from Golden, Colorado, in the *cantinas* of California. But what about Chicano chances of getting a major share of the political and economic power in California?

Almost all of the predictions of coming Hispanic strength in the state are based on the assumption that population statistics must be converted into influence and power. According to Conrad Jamison, economist with Security Pacific Bank, Hispanics now represent 29 percent of the population of Los Angeles County, and the percentage is growing dramatically. In Orange County, the Hispanic population is also increasing rapidly (especially in the Santa Ana area), and there is a decreasing Anglo population. Los Angeles has a gross product that is greater than that of the entire country of Mexico, Jamison has reported, and mass migration from Mexico to Southern California is not about to stop.

The political prowess of California Hispanics should be tested in 1980, when Assemblyman Art Torres probably will run for statewide office. Torres should get universal Chicano backing, plus support from many top Democratic leaders. He is a young, attractive, articulate and knowledgeable legislator — just about the perfect trailblazing candidate for the Hispanic community.

But the best guess is that the Torres candidacy will flop. There is no good way to pussyfoot around the reason: There is a tremendous amount of anti-Hispanic prejudice afoot in the land, and it will hurt Torres or any other candidate with a Spanish surname trying for a statewide office.

The evidence is abundant: The Court of Appeals judge with the biggest negative vote in the last election was Cruz Reynoso. Among judges appointed by Jerry Brown, there have been a disproportionate number of Hispanics defeated by the public. Spanish surname is the only reason to explain the defeat of a school board member in the Sacramento area last year. Those Chicano candidates who have ventured into statewide races in the past have done miserably.

There is another reason why the Torres candidacy may well fail. Some Hispanic leaders, among them President Eduardo Sandoval of the Mexican-American Political Association, are calling for two or more Chicano statewide candidates in 1982. That would dilute campaign resources and heighten prejudice, thus making it so much more difficult for Torres or any other Hispanic to win an election.

The heavy migration of Chicanos into California should give Hispanics more might at the ballot box. But it hasn't been working that way. There is no reason to believe that the illegal aliens from Mexico will stand up and be counted in the census this year, thus giving Chicanos more representation in Congress and the Legislature. There is no hard evidence that American citizens of Mexican descent will improve their dismal registration-and-vote record. (The turnout in Torres' Los Angeles district is usually the lowest in the state.) And most significantly, the continued influx of undocumented workers is producing an anti-Hispanic backlash among some Anglos that could have a devastating effect at the polls.

It will take a great deal more than proclamations from out-of-state brewers to give Hispanics a piece of the action proportional to their population in California.

California Journal

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PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber

EDITOR
Ed Salzman

ART DIRECTOR
Jan Castle

MANAGING EDITOR
Alice Nauman

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT:
Leo Rennert

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS:
Donna Rivers, Evan Nossoff, Kelli Bullock, Grace Mateu

CIRCULATION MANAGER:
Barbara Aguirre

STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Caroline Landry, Jacqueline Robertson

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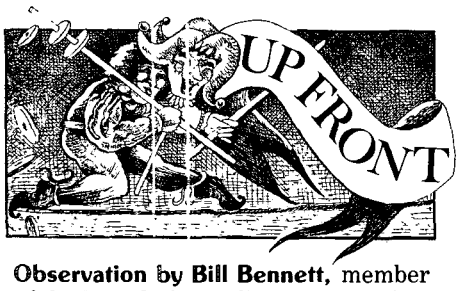

Observation by Bill Bennett, member of the Board of Equalization, at retirement dinner for Martin Huff, former executive officer of the Franchise Tax Board: "The last time so many people (1,100) gathered with the tax collector, the man was hanged — and properly so."

A boomlet is under way to promote Huff, who was maneuvered out of his job by state Controller Ken Cory, for a run at Cory's office in 1982.

Influential lobbyists are saying that Senate Republican leader Bill Campbell has emerged as the first senator since the late George Moscone who can get things done in a big way in the state Senate.

Because of a quirk in California election laws, it turns out that Governor Brown probably will have to suffer the humiliation of finishing second or third in his own state's presidential primaries. Generally, candidates in California have until the end of March to get off the June ballot. Not so for Democratic presidential contenders. They have until February 2nd at the latest. And that's even before the New Hampshire primary.

Are Republicans in California so hard up for cash that they are resorting to a sweepstakes gimmick (top prize: a trip to Hawaii) to raise money?

Howard Jarvis must be just a bit pushed out of shape to see his former junior partner, Paul Gann, become the GOP establishment candidate for the United States Senate. (Jarvis ran for office for many years with no success and was branded as a nuisance by party regulars.)

Wonder about the intelligence capability of Saudi Arabia? The man hired to design the country's mass transit system is Billy E. Stokes, he who was primarily responsible for building Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART).

Incidental information: men are allowed to join the League of Women Voters, the National Women's Political Caucus and many other "women's" organizations. One notable exception: The American Association of University Women.

Table of CONTENTS

The speakership struggle 48

By Ed Salzman

Political fratricide, as practiced by Howard Berman and Leo McCarthy, may produce some unexpected aftershocks.

Deukmejian and the environmentalists 51

By Tony Quinn

The attorney general has had first-year problems with Governor Brown, environmental interests and even his own deputies.

'Governor Gray' 54

By Herb Michelson

Nobody elected him to anything, but Gray Davis is minding the store while Jerry Brown plays traveling salesman.

Bankrolling primaries 57

By Michele Willens

Kennedy, Carter and Brown are all using California dollars to finance their do-or-die campaigns in early primaries.

Budgeting for Jarvis II 59

By Ed Salzman

With no surplus cushion and Howard Jarvis back on the June ballot, state budget-building is tougher than ever this year.

February Bonus: The 1980 Roster

This issue includes a copy of the Journal's best-selling publication: the annual California Journal Roster and Government Guide. *Completely updated for 1980, this directory is also available as a separate reprint.*

Cable TV's revolution 77

By Marsha Temple

California's new cable TV law should provide a favorable climate for the Cinderella industry's growth in the 1980s.

Busing to the courthouse 81

By Maureen Fitzgerald

Two of education's biggest problems, busing and school finance, are headed for the courts; a third, Jarvis II, will be settled by the voters.

Too many doctors? 83

By Norma Peterson

A controversial state report says that California has an excess of specialists, a shortage of generalists – and higher costs as a result.

Environmental movers and shakers 87

By Stefan Reinke

Here's a guide to the state's major environmental groups and their opponents.

Courts 56
Newsmakers 85
Strictly opinion 86
Charting the issues 90
Leo Rennert 91

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The bitter Berman-McCarthy struggle for speakership power

By Ed Salzman

In the lore of the Legislature, there is the story about how Jesse Unruh was almost dumped as speaker of the Assembly. It was the 1963 night that he locked up the Republicans in a futile effort to force them to vote on a Pat Brown budget. Members of both parties came to then-majority leader Jerome Waldie and pleaded with him to replace Unruh as speaker. Waldie told his colleagues that, although Unruh had done things to excess that night, they wouldn't regret riding through the storm with him. Waldie was displaying loyalty to the man who gave him his leadership post, but there was another reason why he was turning down the state's second most powerful office: A speakership won under such circumstances would be so shaky that it couldn't long survive.

Is there a lesson in that 17-year-old tale for Howard Berman?

Just last May, the Republican leader in the Assembly, Paul Priolo, was deposed by Carol Hallett. Priolo's prime crime: he had let it be known that he planned to run for statewide office.

It is now obvious that Leo McCarthy learned little from that episode.

If McCarthy had not started active campaigning last year for governor or United States senator in 1982, he would still be in solid command of the Assembly, with Berman as his top lieutenant. On the other hand, if Berman adhered to the Waldie doctrine, he never would have engaged in political fratricide and thrown the 1980 session of the Legislature into a state of upheaval.

McCarthy actually lost the speakership on December 26th, when Berman commandeered a majority of the 50 members of the Democratic caucus in the Assembly. From that point, it was just a matter of time before Berman or some compromise candidate would take the mace of office as well — although it appeared McCarthy might hold off the insurgents all year. Without a majority of Democrats behind him, McCarthy was a paper tiger — as he learned when he was forced to rescind an order to shuffle offices around.

CARTOON BY STEVEN GREENBERG, The Valley News

McCarthy, 49, didn't just lose the power of the speakership. He probably lost his political career. The Berman challenge dealt a heavy blow to McCarthy's campaign to win a statewide office. Even without the speakership fight, the odds were against him: San Francisco isn't much of a base for statewide candidates these days. And the speakership has been the reverse of a stepping stone throughout California political history.

Berman's decision to run against McCarthy looks puzzling: Why should he turn on his ally when the speakership appeared to be eventually his for the asking? If he could wait for McCarthy to resign to devote all his efforts to the statewide campaign, Berman would be speaker.

The best answer is that the Assembly is always composed of one speaker and 79 candidates for speaker. When an opportunity arises, one of the 79 will move. For a politician, the job has almost everything: ego satisfaction, constant publicity, ability to get things done, a large staff, access to huge amounts of campaign money and — for those who ignore the past — the dream of the governorship.

McCarthy's problems

There is no simple explanation for Berman's decision, but it is clear that McCarthy made himself vulnerable by concentrating on his statewide campaign. Here are some of the reasons:

- Some Democratic Assembly members are feeling insecure, and they want a speaker who will devote all his time to helping them get re-elected.
- McCarthy started paying less and less attention to details of Assembly management as he launched his statewide campaign.
- Resentment grew among members about treatment from McCarthy's top aide, Bob Toigo.
- Berman came under pressure from his brother (and top strategist), Michael, not to wait for 1981.
- Berman says he started picking up clues that McCarthy might not facilitate the transition to a Berman speakership, as promised.
- As is always the case, several Assembly members were angered with the speaker for a variety of unrelated reasons.
- McCarthy raised more than $500,000 at a Los Angeles dinner featuring a speech by Senator Ted Kennedy, and some Assembly Democrats resented the speaker raising large sums for himself and not for the election of Assembly Democrats.

Philosophical issues played no role whatever in Berman's

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decision to challenge McCarthy. Both are liberal Democrats who have worked together harmoniously in handling the Assembly's workload of legislation over the past five years. Speakership battles involve ego and power, not health, education and welfare. And this was no exception.

In the area of politics, the 38-year-old Berman had a great deal to offer. He is co-leader of the Waxman-Berman political organization in Los Angeles, perhaps the best in the state at handling district elections. Brother Michael is considered one of the best reapportionment technicians in the business, and redistricting is around the corner.

McCarthy's candidacy for statewide office created a power vacuum in the Assembly. Berman may have feared that if he didn't move rapidly, someone else would sieze the opportunity — even though Berman was the near-unanimous choice of Democrats to become McCarthy's successor in 1981 or 1982.

An unusual battle

Berman's December 10th confrontation with McCarthy set off the most bitter and most unusual speakership fight in modern California political history. Normally, speakership fights take place at the start of a session. By moving in mid-session, Berman ran into a parliamentary barrier that kept the issue in limbo. That was because McCarthy forces, with the exception of Mike Gage, refused to accept the will of a majority of the Democrats. And it takes 41 affirmative votes to vacate the speakership.

It was highly unusual for political brothers to suddenly start acting like enemies. In most speakership fights, the contenders are usually political rivals of long standing. The fraternal nature of the struggle was one reason why it was so bitter. In one instance, roommates found themselves on opposite sides and didn't even talk to one another.

The campaign was open to an extraordinary degree. There was the usual amount of backroom maneuvering, but where everyone stood was known to the public, and the campaign even involved some public speechmaking.

The Berman campaign started building last summer, and about 10 Assembly members were in the early group urging Berman to run. One of them was Floyd Mori, who later switched sides. On December 10th, Berman had 19 Democrats in his corner — seven short of a majority. So Berman was not playing with a pat hand when he went to McCarthy to suggest that they switch positions. A week later, McCarthy produced the names of 26 supporters, and it appeared that the challenge had been rebuffed. Among the McCarthy backers was Willie Brown, the man McCarthy bested in 1974. Brown could hardly support a southerner against a fellow San Franciscan, and he saw the contest as a chance to resume his climb up the political ladder. (Brown was later named by McCarthy to succeed Berman as majority leader.)

The day after Christmas, the Berman forces obtained a majority of Democrats when Art Torres and Richard Alatorre indicated they were switching to Berman at the urging of Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers. McCarthy had opposed Chavez' farm-worker initiative a few years ago, and Chavez was getting even. At least, that's the story that was told to the public. Privately, some Berman aides said that Chavez gave Alatorre and Torres an excuse to make the move they wanted to make anyway. The reason: Both aspire to higher office in 1982, and feel they can get more help from Berman than from McCarthy.

The caucus voted 26 - 24 for Berman on January 7th. In the past, McCarthy has always supported majority rule by the caucus. But that was when it benefited him. This time, he said he would keep the office because many of his backers felt Berman had a tainted majority composed of the two Chavez-influenced votes. So day after day, the insurgent

CARTOON BY LEE JUDGE, San Diego Union

forces held control of the caucus, with Berman elected as chairman, and moved periodically to vacate the speakership. The Republicans refused to take sides, preferring to let the internecine warfare damage the Democratic image.

The outside elements

Chavez wasn't the only outsider to play a role in the contest. Most labor leaders stuck with McCarthy. Former speaker Bob Moretti helped McCarthy. State Controller Ken Cory worked for Berman because McCarthy is a potential rival for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1982. Cory's top aide, Carl D'Agostino, is a close political friend of Michael Berman, and he was a top Berman-camp strategist.

It is doubtful how much actual impact the outsiders had on the contest. Speakership fights center on the egos and ambitions of the 80 members of the Assembly. Those on the winning side get more power, bigger offices, larger staffs, more campaign contributions and more opportunities to move up the influence ladder.

The speakership is a unique fount of political power. The speaker makes almost all appointments of members to committees and assigns all bills to committee. Through these twin powers, he can control all legislation if he chooses. In normal times, the Rules Committee majority is composed of the speaker's lieutenants, and through this committee the speaker controls staff assignments and office space (McCarthy lost control of the Rules Committee when he lost a caucus majority). But perhaps the most important source of power is the ability to raise and distribute campaign funds. Any party with an interest in legislation must court the speaker. What lobbying organization can afford not to respond to a fund-raising campaign by the speaker?

The speakership contest will have little impact on the public at large. It will probably not change the outcome of many votes on bills, and it may not even prolong the legislative session. It has created tension and turmoil, but the Legislature never gets most of its work done until the late spring — even when harmony reigns.

The political fallout

But there will be quite a few political consequences in Sacramento:

- The Republicans have already called for a reduction in the power of the speaker through a switch to a committee-rule system similar to that used by the Senate. If enough

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Berman by two

Here is how the Democratic caucus voted on January 7th in the speakership contest between incumbent Leo McCarthy and challenger Howard Berman:

Berman (26) — Alatorre, Bane, Bates, Chacon, Costa, Egeland, Elder, Goggin, Hart, Hughes, Ingalls, Kapiloff, Lehman, Levine, Lockyer, McVittie, Moore, Perino, Robinson, Rosenthal, Thurman, Torres, Tucker, N. Waters, Young and Berman.

McCarthy (24) — Agnos, Boatwright, Bosco, Brown, Calvo, Deddeh, Fenton, Gage, Greene, Hannigan, Harris, Knox, Mangers, McAlister, Mello, Mori, Papan, Roos, Tanner, Vasconellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, Wray and McCarthy.

losers in the speakership contest go along, the leadership post could never be the same.

- A switch from McCarthy to Berman could hurt San Francisco in the apportionment of state funds, and it might increase the southern tilt in the state's political power.
- The longer Democratic uncertainty prevails, the better off Republicans will be for the 1980 district elections.
- Governor Brown will be in better shape because McCarthy, once an important ally, had been criticizing the governor with increasing intensity. Berman has worked very closely with Brown, and this led to speculation that the governor was helping Berman. There was no hard evidence of this, and the Assemblyman closest to Brown, Mike Gage, voted for McCarthy. (Gage later voted on the floor to vacate the speakership because he is a believer in rule of the caucus majority.)

To legislators, there is nothing as exciting as a leadership battle. A contest for speaker involves the brokerage of power and the direct massaging of egos. Modern media-message techniques don't help a bit, and the Capitol becomes a place of intrigue.

Yet, speakership fights do not occur very often. Most of the campaigning is done on the assumption that the incumbent, once outvoted, will step down. And speakers usually go to extraordinary means to keep their troops happy.

This speakership battle was characterized by a lack of patience on both sides. If McCarthy had restrained his compulsion to prepare for the 1982 statewide campaign this far in advance, he would have been able to meet the needs of his Assembly constituents. And there would have been no challenge, at least this soon.

On the other hand, Berman probably would have had the speakership the easy way if he had waited for McCarthy to step down voluntarily. Now that he has chosen to live by the sword, he must always fear that one of his political brethren is preparing to use the same weapon.

ROSTRUM

The *Journal* welcomes brief letters from readers.

Unification Church viewpoint

In perusing my December issue of *California Journal*, I was shocked to find an article about myself in its hallowed pages. Namely, I am one of the almost 1 million worldwide members of the Unification Church — a "Moonie," if you will. The editorial introduction voiced fears that state funds might accidentally be given to "the Ku Klux Klan, the People's Temple, the 'Moonies,' the Neo Nazi Party, and the Manson Family." Interesting company. The KKK is a facist group; Jim Jones used the Bible as toilet paper and seems to have been connected to the Soviet Communist Party; the Nazis are a fascist political movement; Charles Manson is a dazed executioner, and I am a member of the most sincere religious movement that I have been able to find in the world today. I grimaced as I realized that the average magazine reader has little or no way to distinguish between a fad, a farce and a genuine religious movement.

The image of the Unification Church as some kind of bizarre cult operating behind locked gates seems silly when you realize that it is an international movement active in over 130 countries. Although the movement in America is less than 10 years old, it is quite established elsewhere.

Let's face it — the history of new religious movements is one of persecution and misunderstanding. For 300 years, the early Christians were tortured because they were thought to eat babies' flesh for their religious services. America was founded by religious groups like the Puritans who were disillusioned with the Church of England. The warm welcome given to the Pope on his recent visit makes us forget the years of anti-Catholic literature accusing the "Popists" of every possible immorality and social ill.

Today's society needs something. While we bemoan the loss of our children to the Moonies, we fail to see the moral and spirtual breakdown all around us. We are witnessing the breakdown of the nuclear family, the alienation of our people from their government, the secularization of almost every aspect of our way of life, and the incredible acceleration of crime. Reverend Moon's teachings have made God a living reality to many, often turning their lives from drugs and promiscuity to ones of faith in God, love and service to humanity.

Deprogramming, according to the manual dedicated to its founder, Ted Patrick, is "the constructive destruction of belief" — in anything. Patrick has been deported from Canada for trying to deprogram a Protestant who converted to Catholicism . . . In the article by Barbara Underwood, the author tries to present deprogramming as a legitimate view. Any discerning person should think twice about this. Can we really even balance the "danger" of new religious movements against our basic human freedom to believe what you wish and to associate with whom you choose?

Sadly enough, deprogrammers and the news media have created a traumatic situation in which both new religious converts and their parents lose. Deprogrammers convince parents that deprogramming is the "only hope if you *really* love your child." This is due in part to the financial benefit that they will receive. On the other side, the past evidence and likelihood of foul play makes the young adult reluctant to trust his parents in an unprotected environment, even if the parents have no ill intentions.

What is needed today is support for those basic religious freedoms we hold so dear, and a crackdown on the illegal activities of those who benefit at the expense of both young religious converts and their families.

MOSE DURST
The Unification Church, Oakland

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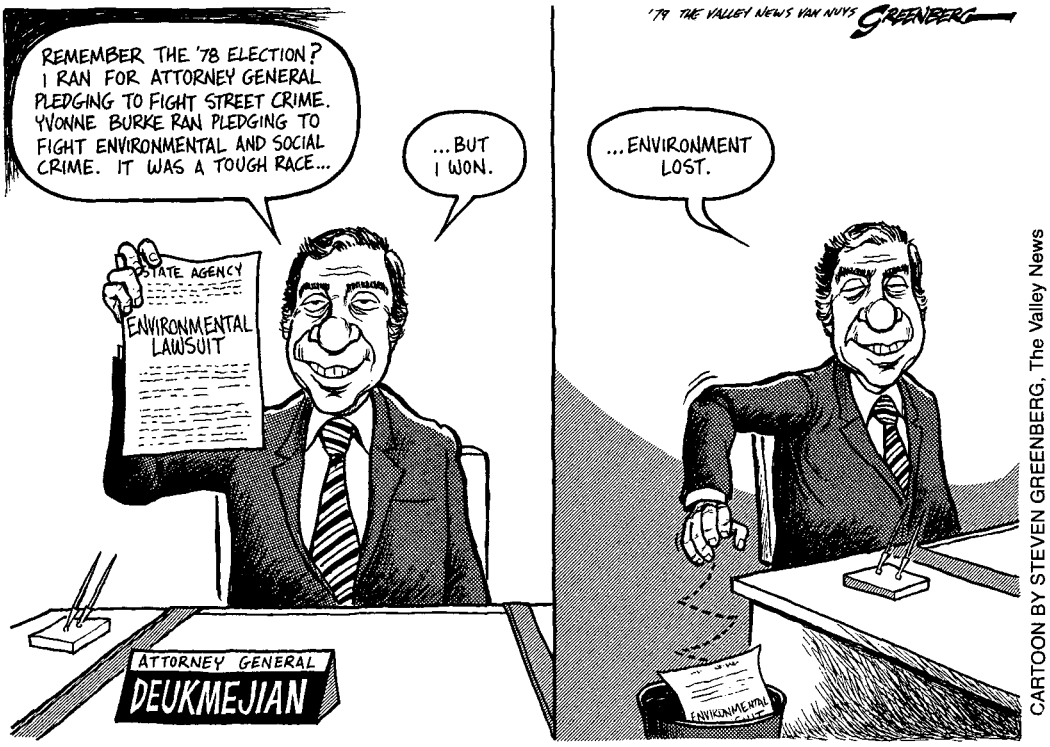
'79 THE VALLEY NEWS VAN NUYS GREENBERG
REMEMBER THE '78 ELECTION? I RAN FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL PLEDGING TO FIGHT STREET CRIME. YVONNE BURKE RAN PLEDGING TO FIGHT ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL CRIME. IT WAS A TOUGH RACE...
...BUT I WON.
STATE AGENCY
ENVIRONMENTAL LAWSUIT
ATTORNEY GENERAL
DEUKMEJIAN
...ENVIRONMENT LOST.
CARTOON BY STEVEN GREENBERG, The Valley News

SLAYER OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PHOENIX

Deukmejian's clash with Brown and even his own deputies

By Tony Quinn

Californians have seen many political battles but none quite like the one shaping up between the governor and his lawyer. A partisan war seems about to break out between the Democratic governor and the Republican attorney general, with far-reaching consequences for both offices.

The conflict may be inevitable. The 1978 attorney general's race was the most partisan in memory, with the antagonists disagreeing on almost every issue. Unlike almost all attorneys general in history, the victor, George Deukmejian, came into office from a partisan background. Not since the election of Frederick Howser in 1946 has a former legislator held the job of attorney general.

That fact helps to explain the perception of partisanship in the Deukmejian Department of Justice. Actually it is not a party-line clash between Democrats and Republicans but a philosophical dispute. Deukmejian has strong conservative instincts, and he intends to imprint his philosophy on the attorney general's office. This has created a conflict with the liberal governor, and with some liberal-minded deputies within his own office.

During the early Jerry Brown years, Deukmejian served as Senate Republican leader, a position which often led him into disagreements with the governor. Now as attorney general, Deukmejian is expected to support and defend the legal positions taken by the Brown Administration — many of which he opposed in the Legislature.

The conflicts started early. Almost immediately after taking office, Deukmejian announced that he was joining a private lawsuit by the Pacific Legal Foundation to challenge the constitutionality of the state's new collective bargaining act, a hallmark of the Brown Administration. Deukmejian had opposed the act as senator, and he cited legal precedents to support his constitutional challenge. The decision was urged on him by a number of deputies in his office, but it brought forth a harsh personal attack from Ray Gonzales, a member of the Public Employment Relations Board. Gonzales accused him of joining an attack on the state "by a right-wing organization opposed to collective bargaining for state employees."

Despite the precedents he cited, Deukmejian's decision to sue rather than defend the state was a departure from past practices. The attorney general theoretically provides legal counsel to all state agencies. When attorneys general feel the state is wrong, they usually simply decline to represent the state, rather than joining legal action to overturn an act of the Legislature. Deukmejian said he took his action because the new law threatened the independence of the State Personnel Board. But he was also aware that the collective bargaining law was a major triumph for organized labor in California. Unions gave more than $100,000 to Deukmejian's opponent in 1978, former Congresswoman Yvonne Burke.

The Younger model

The drift toward partisanship in the attorney general's office did not begin with Deukmejian. At least two years earlier, as former Attorney General Evelle Younger geared up to run for governor, clashes with Brown's office began to surface. At one point, Younger refused to represent the

Tony Quinn, a frequent contributor to the Journal, *served as a special assistant to the attorney general under Evelle Younger.*

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state Energy Commission because of disagreements with the Brown-appointed board over nuclear power. His refusal brought Younger swift denunciation from environmentalists who felt they had been betrayed by a friend. One of Younger's first acts as attorney general in 1971 had been to form an environmental law unit, free of direct representation of state agencies, to file *pro bono* environmental lawsuits. The unit soon came to house some of the brightest, most aggressive and certainly the most controversial lawyers in the AG's office. One environmental unit brief to the Supreme Court nearly brought a halt to all of the state's construction projects which lacked environmental impact statements. The unit won a battle to get high-tension wires removed from a residential street in Torrance. It fought to keep Los Angeles from cutting down 2,000 shade trees. And for several years it kept any new casinos from being built at Lake Tahoe.

Needless to say, the environmental unit got the attorney general in plenty of political hot water. Business interests accused Younger of letting his environmentalists run wild across the state, filing briefs and lawsuits at every turn. The environmentalist attorneys were accused of fronting for the Sierra Club, for which the unit filed several friend-of-the-court briefs.

When Younger campaigned for governor along the north coast, he heard complaints about how his environmentalists had stopped lumber people from cutting their trees. Yet when Younger tried to rein in his environmental unit, he heard equally loud outcries from the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth.

By contrast, Deukmejian has few political ties to environmentalists, and he is determined that the environmental phoenix will not rise up under him. He reassigned the environmental lawyers to the less rambunctious public resources section, and the office ceased taking so many environmentalist positions. In late November, the attorney general removed one of his deputies, Charles Getz, as counsel to two regional coastal commissions, allegedly because the deputy was overzealous in representing the commissions in battles with property owners.

According to press reports, Deukmejian took this action after being pressured by lobbyists and coastal developers who want to see regional commissions abolished and control of the coast returned to local government. The AG's office says Getz' move was simply an internal reassignment. At any rate, his removal prompted an angry letter from the regional commission chairman who praised Getz' work as outstanding and complained about not being consulted before the reassignment.

Getz had little to say about his transfer but on the heels of the controversy, Deukmejian was publicly blasted by a senior environmentalist deputy, Alexander Henson. Claiming that Deukmejian had "abdicated your important duties as legal protector of California's natural resources," Henson wrote: "During the one year you have been attorney general, you have proceeded to systematically dismantle the part of the attorney general's office responsible for undertaking independent, self-generating action to protect the environment of California."

Deukmejian's response was that he intended to concentrate on the urban environment rather than wilderness and the coast. His office would continue filing environmental lawsuits through the public resources section, which contains a number of strong environmental lawyers, Deukmejian said. Shortly after the Henson letter, the AG's office filed an action against Occidental Chemicals over DBCP and underground-water contamination.

But this did not satisfy the critics. Air Resources Board chairman Mary Nichols joined their ranks, accusing Deukmejian of refusing to file a requested appeal in a Los Angeles air pollution case. "I feel it is a serious and unwarranted abdication of your responsibility to refuse to provide such representation," Nichols wrote. Deukmejian answered that he had supported board requests in every other case but this one.

Then Brown's office accused the attorney general of refusing to represent eight state agencies, thereby forcing the agencies to hire their own legal counsel.

The governor's budget message in January included a $1 million budget cutback, refusal to support additional drug enforcement agents, and transfer of some environmental attorney positions to the Department of Water Resources. Brown justified this action because Deukmejian "dismantled the environmental section." The attorney general responded, "I will ask the Legislature to reject the governor's unjustified actions and I am confident they will do so."

Changes in priority

Deukmejian is not the first attorney general to pick and choose which state clients to represent, but he has done it more often and in more controversial cases than his predecessors. This trend stems partly from organizational and priority changes in the office since Deukmejian took over. For one thing, the office is no longer run by the senior bureaucrats who set policy during the Younger years. Younger chose as his chief deputy Charles Barrett, a Democrat

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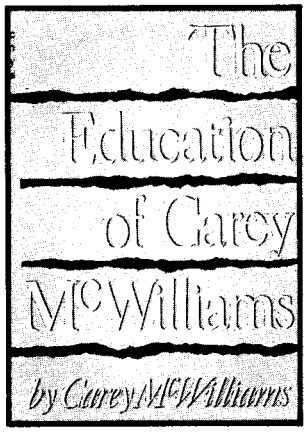

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who had risen through the office ranks. Deukmejian's top deputy, Michael Franchetti, 37, joined the office in 1969 and came to Deukmejian's attention as head of the attorney general's legislative unit. Franchetti was one of the few deputies in the office who is personally close to Deukmejian.

Another assistant, Steve Merksamer, 32, joined the office in 1974. Deukmejian chose as his criminal law chief assistant Robert Philobosian, 39, an attorney from the Los Angeles district attorney's office. The sole senior deputy in the office hierarchy is Willard Shank, 58, chief civil law assistant, who has been with the office for more than two decades.

The result of this structure is that Deukmejian's top assistants feel less allegiance to the office than did Younger's, but are perhaps more politically committed to Deukmejian than his predecessors were to Younger. There has been a conscious effort under Deukmejian to centralize more decision-making at the top.

Morale has been a serious problem in the office for a number of years. Many deputies complained during Younger's last years that he was aloof and inaccessible. Younger certainly was a very private person — none of his assistants ever called him by his first name. Deukmejian is more informal, preferring "George" to the traditional title, "general." But he too is reserved and limits his contact with deputies. Office morale may also be tied to Deukmejian's politics. He came into office with two decades of partisan Republican activity, but now he oversees an organization populated largely by liberal Democrats. State service over the years has attracted far more Democrats than Republicans, particularly in legal work. It is likely that as many as 75 percent of the deputy attorneys general are registered Democrats.

The 'top cop's' problems

In fairness, Deukmejian's stands on public issues were well-known before he took office and received a thorough airing in the 1978 campaign. Democratic nominee Burke stressed the civil side of the office, committing herself to aggressive representation of consumer, environmental and generally liberal interests. Deukmejian said he was running for "top cop." His polls showed people wanted a tough law-enforcement man for attorney general, and he promised it. Deukmejian's entire career in the Legislature revolved around criminal law. He authored the state's death penalty; he was the driving force behind mandatory-sentencing legislation. When the voters made their choice, it was Deukmejian's hard line over the liberal Burke by 600,000 votes.

It comes as something of a surprise, therefore, that Deukmejian's relations with the law-enforcement establishment have been less close than expected. Virtually every major police organization in the state supported Deukmejian over Burke, but there have been complaints over the manner in which he has run the Department of Justice Division of Law Enforcement. This agency is the police support branch of state government, and includes the Bureau of Criminal Statistics, the Bureau of Narcotic Enforcement, and information and investigative services. Some police agencies don't feel the anticipated level of support from the attorney general has materialized.

For instance, there is a felt need for more agents and investigators to assit local law enforcement. But Deukmejian's current fight with the Brown Administration over his budget leaves little prospect for additional personnel. There is also some grumbling over the man Deukmejian put in charge of the Division of Law Enforcement, 41-year-old attorney Nelson Kempsky. Traditionally the director of law enforcement was drawn from the Los Angeles police department or the old-boy law enforcement network. Kempsky had no background in police work, and, as assistant director in the Department of Corrections, he was sometimes perceived as less than supportive of law enforcement.

The most wrenching experience for the Division of Law Enforcement, however, and for Deukmejian himself, has been the much-publicized investigation of Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb. Curb was accused in a series of newspaper articles of involvement with organized crime figures between 1970 and 1973 when he was president of MGM Records. Agents in the Division of Law Enforcement began an investigation, and their progress — or lack of it — became the subject of numerous leaks to the press.

Curb claimed the leaks were intended to embarrass him and to eliminate him as a gubernatorial prospect in 1982, when Deukmejian himself might want to run for that office. Deukmejian denied he was behind the leaks, and in November he announced he had decided "not to further investigate Mr. Curb in this matter." Shortly thereafter, Bob Cook, Deukmejian's assistant press secretary, resigned and intimated the attorney general was not telling the truth about the status of the Curb investigation. Some Curb aides believe Cook was the source of the leaks.

The Curb investigation was a losing proposition for Deukmejian, no matter how it went. A finding that Curb had done nothing wrong would immediately open the attorney general up to charges of a whitewash. But bringing charges against Curb would be viewed as a political act by a potential opponent. Deukmejian himself doubtless tried to remain as far removed from the Curb investigation as possible, recognizing it was a no-win proposition. But ill feelings remain, particularly among some Division of Law Enforcement agents who feel they were forced into the middle of an essentially political conflict.

There was also office resentment over another incident: the jail sentence given to Deputy Attorney General Charles Kirk for contempt of court for failing to produce office files in a Black Panther lawsuit. Again Deukmejian tried to avoid the controversy, but the presiding judge coupled Kirk's sentence with stiff criticism of the attorney general's office.

Controversy and criticism

All in all, it has been a difficult first year for Deukmejian. The attorney general came into office hoping to advance his theories about criminal justice, but he has found himself embroiled in controversy and press criticism. It may be that Deukmejian underestimated the pluralistic nature of the attorney general's office and has now learned that it is far more than a super police department. There is every reason to believe that the voters wanted a tough, law-and-order attorney general when they elected Deukmejian, and the man they chose fits the bill. But the job clearly involves a lot more than cops and crooks.

Deukmejian responds to criticism of his pick-and-choose representation of state agencies by saying that the agencies did not elect him; the people did. When an agency takes a position he believes legally indefensible, he intends to inform it of his opinion and allow it to hire its own lawyer.

Governor Brown cannot be very happy with this attitude. In his new budget Brown gave $1 million to the state Department of Water Resources to handle environmental issues that Deukmejian may refuse. But the overall AG budget was increased, not cut, from this year's level.

A bumpy first year won't necessarily leave permanent political damage. Deukmejian maintains a reputation for honesty and integrity, but accusations that he gutted the office's environmental unit could cause long-term negative political fallout. Californians enjoy a streak of populism, and the environmental ethic runs deep in this state. Should the public come to believe he has tossed environmentalism overboard to curry favor with business interests, Deukmejian could create for himself a broad target for criticism.

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Governor Gray

With Jerry Brown's political headquarters in Boston, the job of running the state government is in the hands of one Joseph Graham Davis, the chief-of-staff with this slogan on his office wall: ". . . I am the magical friend. I am impossible to lose."

By HERB MICHELSON

The twitting hasn't let up for six months. "Acting governor," they call him. "Governor-in-residence," they call him. Or "Jerry Gray" or "Gray Brown."

All right. So the governor of California has indeed become King of the Road, a wandering, non-nuke, pro-swami minstrel he. And, all right again. His principal sideman, his arranger and conductor, his, if you will, five-year "redshirt," Joseph Graham Davis, has indeed been running the state, keeping it alive and well. Considering.

Davis has pat answers to these twits, for the man comes pat, controlled, credentialed. The pattest is that he has worked for Jerry Brown so long (five years) that it is easy for his ego to turn alter; that he can anticipate during any given crisis, political or legislative, what the governor would say, what the governor would do, what the governor would want him to say and do. "I don't wish to appear immodest, but . . ." says Gray Davis, who says that a lot without mussing an id.

The twitting does go against his grain, for the man is not without sensitivity. But, being pat, being controlled, he can hide this mini-hurt. It is not, after all, Gray Davis who says he's governor of California.

The stuffed-shirt image

If Heywood Broun was accused of looking like an unmade bed, and fairly, then Gray Davis can be accused of looking like a bed that's never been slept in. And fairly. "Inside the real Gray Davis may be a real Gray Davis," says a governor's office insider. "For a pompous ass, Gray's really not a bad guy," says a political writer who has watched Davis from the beginning, which means 1974, and has spotted some growth.

"I used to think he was a bleeping stuffed shirt," says B.T. Collins, once a legislative lobbyist for Brown (and Davis) and now director of the California Conservation Corps. "But now, three years later, I've done a 180 on him" — meaning, in Collins' glossary, a half-turn reappraisal. And what Collins now perceives is that Davis is neither bleeping nor stuffed. Collins' 180, to be fleshed out below, is definitive; what has happened is that people who have been around long enough to watch Gray Davis grow have similarly grown, and in this mutual maturity the knockers have come to understand, as Collins notes with full erudition, "Gray's got a shitty job."

Davis did all the right things on the way. Out of Stanford with honors in '64. Out of Columbia Law School three years later. Into Nam as an Army captain. Out of Nam with a Bronze Star. Into the Securities and Exchange Commission. Into a corporate-show biz Los Angeles law firm. Into Democratic Party work in '72, and thence into an advisory role (investments, finance) with Mayor Tom Bradley, and next, in '74, into the race for state treasurer.

Smooth, real smooth. He announced early, in January, because he knew he would need time to build name recognition before the Democratic primary, and he brought with him many of the party's heavy hitters: Elizabeth Gatov, Max Palevsky, Carmen Warschaw, Paul Ziffren, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, George Brown Jr., Phil Burton, George Zenovich, Willie Brown. Accompanied, real accompanied.

Through that late winter and early spring, it appeared likely that this bright political rookie would sail into the nomination and, ultimately, into the treasurer's office. Until he was victimized by a very serious twit, the late opposition of Jesse Unruh, a fellow a couple of people had heard of. That ended Davis' chances for statewide office. For '74.

"Losing to him in that primary was a tremendous low point in my life," says Davis. "The first time I really had to confront failure — losing. And the first time I had a taste of how a single event could influence your life."

But within a few weeks he turned up on the staff of one of the winners of that June primary, Jerry Brown. Davis was one more of the bright young people in Brown's campaign organization: Tom Quinn, who had been with Brown in the secretary of state's office; Rose Elizabeth Bird, who had been with Brown at Berkeley, and Davis, whose mind and energy — and capacity for order — seemed to fit.

Eventually, he became the most equal of the equals around the newly elected governor. Quinn may have been campaign manager, Bird may have been motivator — but Davis was perceived by Brown as the best single answer to a multiple-choice question, the person who could best do it all in Sacramento, a mix of cement and semantics, perhaps even a slicker version of himself, straight out of good cop-bad cop central casting. Davis could take the heat emanating from Brown's kitchen without melting. Every superstar needs a hatchet man, a capo in a three-piece suit. And here came Davis to serve as Brown's executive secretary during the late 1974 transition period, then chief of staff after inauguration day in '75.

Davis was different than Brown, then and still. "I'm more conventional," he says. "And it was tough to adjust to his style at the beginning. For example, I'd schedule a whole week for the writing of his first inaugural address. But at the end of that week, he tossed away all the ideas, and so I was a little nervous. Because I'm a fundamental person, I figured here was a speech that people would read for years to come."

But as a result of that speech, which set a new land speed record for inaugural capsulization, Davis discovered that

Herb Michelson is a columnist for the Sacramento Bee.

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Jerry Brown "operated by his own clock, and there's nothing you can do, anyone can do, to change it. Listen, we've tried setting clocks ahead here in the office so that he'll keep to his schedule. But he knows the clocks have been set ahead. You can't fool him. And so very early I decided that we, that I, have to adopt a process that's best suited to the governor, not the other way around. To go with his flow. With him, you can't segmentize problems by time, in half-hour blocks. You can't go into him at the start of every day with a list of 10 things you want him to do because he'll quickly add four and subtract four others. So then it's up to me to do the things he's subtracted, to go where he doesn't want to go."

One of the early raps on Davis was that he seemed to be going everywhere, insinuating himself into every phase of gubernatorial gadabouting, especially the media phase. The long line of Brown press secretaries is testimony to the fact that Brown has had only one press secretary: Davis. There are two reasons given for this, Davis' and everybody else's.

Davis' is simple: A good chief of staff has to know everything that's going on, and what better way to absorb all of this than by absorbing all media contacts and implications? Or, as he says, "You can't govern if you can't communicate. The press office here is simply another component over which I'm supposed to take some responsibility. It falls naturally within my jurisdiction.

"Look, the strength of this administration is our ability to educate, to provide insights, to help everyone catch a glimpse of the future. Remember that we attract people — staff — who sound a different tune. And you make the unfamiliar familiar. It's essential. It's not that I'm trying to eat a piece of that cake."

And what is everybody else's notion about Press Secretary Joseph Graham Davis? Here is one of the several ex-press officers: "Once a TV crew from an important station came in and wanted to do a piece on the bright people in the governor's office. So I set them up with Tony Kline or Bill Press or somebody like that — I guess Gray was out for the moment. And there they were, shooting this guy and Gray comes in and sees what's going on and does what I know is a fast simmer. He doesn't stop the interview, but later he calls me in his office and just raises hell. I've got to clear all this stuff with him from now on, is what he tells me. Nobody's to be interviewed in this office without his permission first, is what he says. If you ask me, he was just jealous that somebody besides him was getting on camera."

The 'Big Daddy' lesson

Gray Davis understands the immense political value of name recognition. During his campaign against Unruh, he'd go around to rallies and speeches and hold up a picture of Unruh and say that, hey, here's Big Daddy and he's not a nice guy and I am and he'll make a lousy treasurer but I'll make a swell one. Eventually, Davis figured out that all he was doing was calling attention to the candidacy of Unruh. After all, Jess wasn't running around holding up pictures of Gray.

It is important to Gray Davis that the people of California be familiar with the name Gray Davis, for who knows whither Gray Davis goest down the road? He is only 37. And so, in accompaniment to his understanding of the need for name recognition, is his awareness that the media is the conduit for ink and air time. He also serves who stands for an interview. "And," Davis admits with the thinnest of smiles, "I enjoy it."

The resentment factor at the beginning was implicit. Those who bad-mouthed Gray Davis in 1975-78 (and a few of those who still do) were knocking the man's job as much as the man himself.

To begin with, there's that matter of "accessibility." Aides to supposed political superstars are no different about lusting for this access than, say, the six children of a harried mother. When Joe Alioto was mayor of San Francisco, his rather large retinue — driver, appointment secretary, confidential secretary, personal secretary, two field reps — would hang around in his outer office at what amounted to closing time. Each wished to touch the hem for one final moment that day. Each wished a scintilla of accessibility. A perfunctory "Good night" from the mayor got them through the evening.

Thus, Davis. He was getting more time with Jerry than those who'd worked longer for Jerry. Davis had the title and so Davis had access. He says now that he always understood "the downside potential" of his right-hand man slot, that he took the job "with some reservations," that he "recognized instinctively the problems I'd have." He also says that he "came into this job knowing that I'd have to subordinate my own identity." He knew, he says, that in dealing with "diverse views and diverse people" he would have to keep a grip on being both an independent Gray Davis and a chief of staff who is dependent on the moods and wishes of the Big Guy. "It was necessary for me to grow into this job because this is the kind of job where you either do grow or you're gone."

Hotshot envy

He knew from the start that nobody was about to elect him Miss Congeniality. "A lot of people didn't like me because of my title," he says. "They refused to differentiate between me as a person and me as chief of staff. And at first I couldn't accept their refusal to differentiate."

He looked around and saw what he and the others were — a bunch of unelected hotshots. "And because none of us was elected, the others felt they were as good if not better than me. So I felt, jeez, here I am carrying my share of the workload, and more, so why don't they understand? Why are they so envious? Finally, and it took me some time, I understood that they were envious only because of the nature of the job I held. Listen, if Mother Theresa sat here where I sit, she'd be equally disliked."

And then Gray Davis offers a monologue about how throughout recent history all of a big guy's big guys were scorned and envied and, uh, twitted. You know: Sherman Adams, Haldeman, Jordan. His point is not without validity.

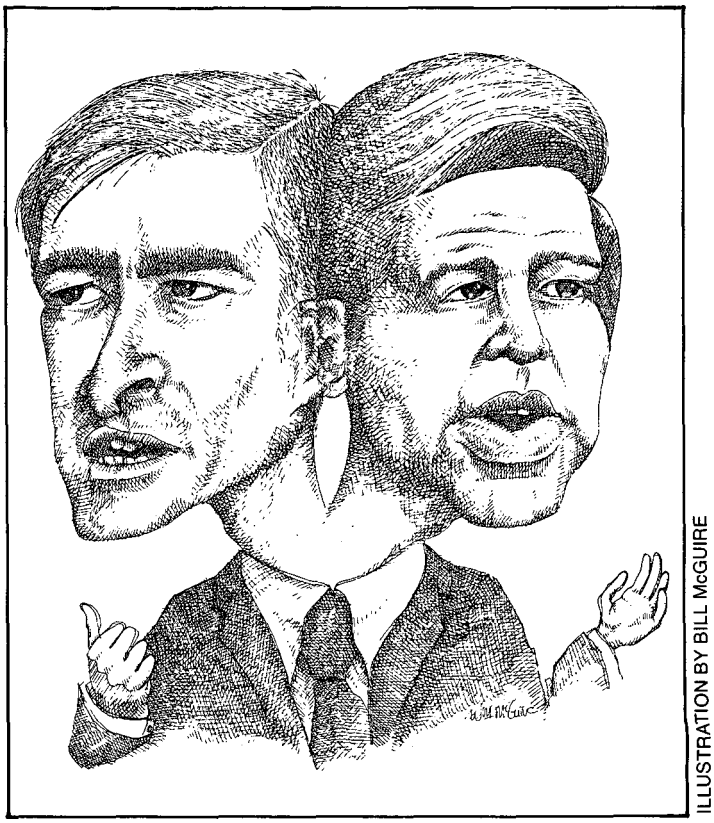

ILLUSTRATION BY BILL McGUIRE

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As B.T. Collins — the definitive re-assesser — has come to learn.

Collins came on board in 1976 — a feisty, out-front Republican able to leap tall embarrassments in a single bound. Collins will not only tell you what he thinks — he will tell you what he thinks without being asked to tell you what he thinks. Collins and Davis in the same room in 1976 was like putting tabasco sauce on vanilla pudding.

"Now that I can figure out what a bleeping job Gray has, I've come to appreciate him," says Collins. "Why is it bleeping? Because he's got guys like B.T. Collins doing end runs on him. Here's what I mean. If I couldn't get my way with him, couldn't get him to approve something I wanted, I'd just go right in and ask the governor for approval. And the governor would say, 'Yeh, yeh. Go ahead.' Davis bore the brunt of that kind of bleep. Here's Jerry Brown appointing all these weirdos, people like me, and here's Davis having to keep us all together. You have to have a hard-ass, a guy like Gray, to say to a guy like me, 'I don't care what you and the governor agreed to — I'm the chief of staff.' That's what his job is supposed to be. And he does it well.

"Jerry's been sandbagged by a lot of people, people he's given good jobs to, but he always knows that Gray won't let this sandbagging get by him. That's why he trusts Gray so much. That's why he lets him talk to the media and represent his views. It's taken me a while, but I've figured that out. I can see now that when I dealt with him in the governor's office, I was petty."

But maybe Davis was too, says Collins. "Then he learned it was okay to start trusting people. I think the change came late in the '78 campaign."

Davis had taken a leave from Sacramento to run Brown's re-election effort. Then some of the early resenters began doing a number on him — leaking stories that Davis was about to be dumped. In retrospect, Davis had a hunch that the printing of these leaks actually saved his job, that Brown didn't want the media telling him whom to fire, or hire.

"Once Jerry came out in public and said, 'Hey, Gray's my man,' I saw a change in Gray," says Collins. "He became more confident, more secure, I guess. And once he was secure he was more accepting of people and a little bit nicer to people, too. It's never been easy for him to be nice to people. I once had to drag him up an elevator just to say hello to some people who thought he was a great guy. But you also have to remember that there aren't a helluva lot of people who've ever been nice to Gray Davis either."

Paying dues

"This probably will be the best time in my life," Davis says. "And I have to face that fact, the possibility that I'll never again be in this kind of position."

It has not been a 9-to-5 job. But Davis is not sure he could work 9-to-5. He knows that some folks mock his inability to be what they perceive as "normal" — having a home life, or at least furniture in his condominium; having interests other than the interests of Jerry Brown; having, in fact, a self.

Well, he lately has bought furniture. And he lately is even keeping regular company with a woman. And he lately is even laughing when B.T. Collins knocks on his window and gives him the finger.

"You burn brightly until you burn out," Davis says. "And when you burn out, you get out." But this fellow will not get out for a long time. Conventional political wisdom has him chief-of-staffing as long as Brown wants and then making his own way up the elective ladder.

His campaign slogan, framed, already is on his office wall: ". . . I am the magical friend. I am impossible to lose." To this he adds, without suitable framing, "People don't elect their neighbors. They elect leaders. And leaders have to have paid dues. And paying dues involves time."

Davis' time has included being the acting governor of California. The preceding sentence is a twit. But not, as B.T. Collins and a bunch of other converts may tell you, a *bleeping* twit.

Significant Court Actions

The Brown-Curb draw

The state Supreme Court handed down a decision of "draw" in the legal contest between Governor Jerry Brown and Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb. The court sided with Curb on the question of whether he could assume all powers of governor while Brown was out of state. But it ruled that Brown can withdraw certain appointments made by Curb upon the governor's return.

The court's opinion, written by Associate Justice Wiley Manuel, gave a strict interpretation to this constitutional provision: "The Lieutenant Governor shall act as Governor during the impeachment, absence from the state, or other temporary disability of the Governor." Five other justices signed Manuel's opinion in *Brown v. Curb* and *In re the Governorship* but Justice Frank C. Newman filed a concurring opinion arguing that a governor can perform some of his duties while out of the state.

There was no disagreement on the appointment issue. With Brown in Washington, D.C., last March, Curb named Superior Judge Armand Arabian to a presiding judgeship on the Court of Appeal. Upon his return, Brown withdrew the appointment and nominated Justice Bernard S. Jefferson for the post. The court concluded that both moves were valid and that Arabian could have kept the promotion only if the nomination had been confirmed.

The Third District Court of Appeal in Sacramento sided with Howard Jarvis and Jerry Brown against state employees in the dispute over $207 million in retroactive pay for the 1978 - 79 fiscal year. The three-justice panel ruled unanimously that the state constitution prohibits extra compensation for work that has already been performed. The Legislature overrode Brown's veto of the bill providing the pay raise, and Jarvis subsequently challenged the legality of the increase in court.

The same appellate court was much more generous to the seven members of the state Supreme Court, finding that Superior Court Judge Joseph Babich of Sacramento had acted improperly when he placed an embargo on salaries for the high-court justices. In a unanimous decision, the appellate court ordered state Controller Ken Cory to pay the seven justices, pending a decision on the merits of the case filed by the Law and Order Campaign Committee. Babich had ordered Cory to stop payments and conduct an audit to determine whether the justices had been violating the law by taking more than 90 days to decide cases.

In a 5 - 2 decision, the state Supreme Court overturned a provision in the Political Reform Act of 1974 requiring lawyers and real-estate brokers holding public office to divulge the names of clients providing them with income of at least $1,000 a year. The court majority said that lawyers and realtors must be treated like all other public officials, who were given a $10,000 minimum under the act.

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Brand on the Eastern primaries: 'Bankrolled in California'

By MICHELE WILLENS

The presidential campaigns of the three Democratic contenders are aiming at California from different directions. Jerry Brown's operation is being run out of Boston. Ted Kennedy's headquarters is in a high-rise business office in West Los Angeles, and Jimmy Carter's campaign is coordinated from one lawyer's office in San Francisco and another in Los Angeles.

At present, all three candidates are playing wait-and-see in California. They intend to watch what happens in the first primaries, especially this month in New Hampshire, before making too big an investment in the high-cost political climate of California

"We're just an export state for awhile," says Peter Kelly, one of the chief California fund-raisers for Carter. "Virtually all of the California money is being spent elsewhere."

The wait-and-see approach to California isn't uncommon, although by this point in the campaign cycle more substantial efforts are usually underway. These typically include rounding up as many state officials as possible, giving each of them a title role in the campaign in exchange for an endorsement. But the Carter, Kennedy and Brown roundups have been low-key so far. Almost all of the emphasis in the three camps has been on fund raising. And the money is shipped off to states with early primaries almost as quickly as the ink on the checks is dry.

California and New York have always been the states in which to raise great amounts of campaign money. The national coordinators this year are allowing local operatives to find the early money-givers and to play an active role in the first stages of the campaign. But every candidate sends in his own people when the primary nears. Four months before the June primary, none of the three candidates can count on California. The state's own governor has spent little time here recently; Kennedy's California junkets have disappointed his supporters; and Carter is as much an unkown quantity as ever. All three are expecting at least one of the others to fall before the California primary, but after the crisis in Iran, no one can predict who that first loser will be.

Even though the overall strategies of the three campaigns are similar, there are subtle difference in the three game plans. Here are some details:

Brown: Hanging in there

"We feel that by the time California comes around, it will be a two-person race. Who the other one is will determine our strategy," says Mike Fernandez, political director for the Brown campaign.

In the meantime, the essential ingredient can be summed up in two words: staying power.

Brown's people feel that if they can continue to raise enough funds to hang in, his reputation as the only candidate who is discussing issues will move him forward.

"We intend to run on the issues and push the other two to clarify themselves," Fernandez says. "Brown will be seen as the alternative for the disaffected voters who are fed up with rhetoric."

The Brown campaign scenario goes like this: Kennedy will win in New Hampshire, but by a disappointing (to him) margin. Carter will win in Iowa and the South. The two then will square off in Illinois, with the loser suffering a serious setback. Brown hopes to make respectable showings all the way to New York where, relying heavily on the entertainment industry, he intends to come in a strong second. With that showing, he should be able to pick up new money and a bigger organization, which will bring him a strong showing in Pennsylvania and victory in Wisconsin. Then he can return home with new strength and with only one opponent to deal with.

Michele Willens is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles and a frequent contributor to the Journal.

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Jerry Brown will lean heavily on his close connections to the music industry. Two concerts in December, featuring Linda Ronstadt, the Eagles and Chicago, raised a hefty sum for the campaign. Richard Maullin, one of the campaign's key fund-raisers, admits the money game has changed dramatically: "Concerts have become a big part of our fund-raising effort, and I find I suddenly have to know the names of singers in all the groups, the way you used to have to know business and labor leaders. Brown has good ties to the music industry and we certainly intend to take advantage of them."

So far, the campaign has needed every bit of help in fund-raising. Since its inception, it has been hampered by cash flow problems. Even many California supporters of Brown's first campaigns have been reluctant this time because they aren't convinced that Brown has a chance. Others are angry at the prospect of a Mike Curb governorship should Brown wind up on the winning ticket, either as president or vice president.

"We have to conserve money and energy as much as possible," admits Fernandez in discussing Brown's lack of time spent in California. "Besides, you don't run a national campaign on Pacific time. The Democratic nomination will most likely be decided somewhere before California — at least it will be narrowed down to two before then. It just costs time and money to keep flying from California to the states which have the first primaries."

The campaign staff insists that Brown is not taking California for granted. "First of all, we never expect the Democratic Party regulars to support Jerry," says Brown's political consultant David Mixner. "I think if he comes back to California having done well, the people here will rally behind him. They just need some assurance that he's a serious candidate."

The key people from California in Brown's campaign so far are Tom Quinn, campaign director; Fernandez (a former Morris Udall aide), political director; Richard Maullin and Dick Silberman, top fund-raisers; Larry Pryor (formerly of the *Los Angeles Times)* and Bob Kholos (on leave from the State Consumer Affairs Department), top press aides; and Mixner and Peter Scott, political consultants responsible for organizing the non-primary states for Brown.

Then there are Hayden, Fonda and Company. The Campaign for Economic Democracy may turn out to be Brown's roving California campaign. The organization has endorsed his candidacy and is dispatching thousands of volunteers across the country to help the campaign. CED is also capable of raising money, capitalizing on Fonda's special drawing power and Hollywood contacts.

Kennedy: Softening support?

Senator Kennedy made two key trips to California in December, and his campaign managed to raise half a million dollars but little enthusiasm. Kennedy's speeches at a number of well-attended functions in San Francisco and Los Angeles failed to excite his followers. The strong support anticipated for the Massachussetts senator appears to be soft. Some potential Kennedy supporters expressed disappointment in Kennedy's reluctance to talk issues and in his inarticulate style. His televised criticism of the shah of Iran also worried supporters.

"I don't mind that he says nothing," says one person who saw Kennedy in Los Angeles. "But he doesn't even say it well."

There is still no official Kennedy campaign operation in California, but there is an early strategy. "The way the campaign is setting up its organization here is very unusual," says Fred Port, one of the key Kennedy people so far in California. "They're starting with fund-raising and using that to learn the landscape and to figure out who's who in the state. Right now, political decisions are being made by the national campaign, but it is relying on people out here with good perspective of California."

Aside from Port, others who have been active in Kennedy's behalf are attorney Nelson Rising, Port's partner in real estate development (both were active in John Tunney's Senate campaigns); Tunney himself; Dick Sklar, a member of San Francisco's Public Utilities Commission; Thom Mount, an executive with Universal Pictures; and Ted Ashley, chairman of Warner Brothers. Their work has been chiefly fund-raising; they've brought Kennedy about $700,000 in California.

Port says the California campaign will reach out to a wide cross section of groups, even when it comes to fund-raising. "Six weeks before our dinner in Los Angeles," he says, "we had 1,800 seats to fill. We decided, against tradition, not to look to a few key rich people who give money but nothing else. We went instead to a broad-based constituency, to people committed to working, not just giving money. We got enormous support from black groups, Jews — all segments of the community. We filled the place because we had over 100 people actively trying to sell tickets."

It's likely that Port and Rising will continue to play key roles, except on a non-volunteer basis. The feeling in the campaign is that Kennedy can win California if he can bolster his support with better speeches on clearer issues, and by showing strength in early primaries.

But right now, Californians are doing to Kennedy what his campaign is doing to California: waiting and seeing.

Carter: Mending fences

"We're keeping things on a back burner," says Assemblyman Mike Roos, Carter's California coordinator. "But we're doing a number of things as far as strategy. First, we're trying to build up credibility with Washington. We have to convince the national campaign that there is strength for Carter here, even though past relations have not been good. Secondly, we're trying to emphasize Carter's accomplishments through surrogates and the media. We've had Chip, Rosalynn, Miss Lillian, Bob Bergland and others out here, and we get them on shows and plan events around them. We're trying to get one out here every two weeks."

The Carter campaign in California hopes to collect $1 million before the primary and has already raised close to $400,000. But getting people to give to the president hasn't been easy, especially before Iran sent his ratings soaring.

"California was so shabbily treated by Carter after he lost here in '76," Roos admits, "and he had such a terrible campaign operation here last time. That left a lot of bad feelings and bruised egos. I'm frankly surprised that it is even repairable."

But Carter fund-raisers Peter Kelly in Los Angeles and Hal Rogers in San Francisco (both attorneys with political experience) say much of the '76 support is still around — and sound. "Most of our contributions are coming from old Carter supporters," says Kelly, who is banking heavily on a Carter dinner, with the president attending, on February 8th. "We may not have to raise much more out here after that dinner, if all goes well."

The San Francisco staff will stage a breakfast for Carter that same morning, and Rogers says he is hopeful that it, too, will be a big event. Attitudes have changed quickly in the Bay Area, Rogers says. "I found a lot of reluctance when I first started raising money last year," he says. "It was especially tough during the period when Kennedy was first making noises. Most people wanted to hang back. But now every time Kennedy comes here, Carter goes up."

Carter's strength in California seems to shift dramatically with every poll, more so than either of the other two candidates. "Until the December Gallup Poll," says Peter Kelly, "the national campaign had raised $2½ million. The week after the poll, it raised another $3 million. When I first took this job, people laughted at me and asked if I was going to do my fund-raisers in a phone booth. Now, they're calling me."

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Brown's shaky budget, even without Jarvis II

By Ed Salzman

This is the year that the California treasury's fat goose stops laying golden eggs. The $24 billion budget submitted to the Legislature by Governor Brown last month is virtually meaningless because it does not take into account the possibility that California voters will approve the Jarvis II tax-cut initiative this June. But the fiscal program does draw a picture of the state's cash condition, and one conclusion is unmistakable: Even if Jarvis II (called Jaws II in governmental circles) is defeated, the 1980 - 81 fiscal year will be the last in which state and local government can be supported by the huge surplus that accumulated in the state treasury during the 1970s.

Passage of the Jarvis initiative, which would cut personal income taxes in half, would cost the state $5 billion in the 1980 - 81 fiscal year — roughly 25 percent of the general fund. The blow would be especially hard in the first year because the income-tax cut would cover the entire 1980 calendar year. This means that the 1980 - 81 budget would have to absorb an income tax cut covering 18 months. In the following fiscal year, the loss would be about $4 billion.

The Brown Administration elected to prepare a standard budget for presentation to the Legislature in January. It calls for an increase of about $2 billion over the current level of spending, with most of the money going for cost-of-living increases to state employees, local government, welfare recipients, health providers and others. The governor proposed several new program initiatives, but they amount to relatively few dollars. With Jerry Brown out of state campaigning for presidential convention delegates, the annual budget briefing was conducted by his chief of staff, Gray Davis, and the new director of finance, Mary Ann Graves. Davis reported that the administration plans to present an alternate budget in early March showing how the state could "live within the confines of Jarvis II." He said that it is "very unlikely" the plan would contain tax increases but rather would show, item by item, how $5 billion in reductions could be made. One obvious possibility: elimination of all pay raises for state and local employees, plus elimination of any cost-of-living adjustments in the health-and-welfare area. The state can hardly be expected to close prisons or mental hospitals, although a college campus or two might be considered.

Planning for 'uncertainties'

Graves, an economic forecaster by profession, explained that the budget is built on the assumption that California will suffer a "mild recession" this year — but less severe than the economic downturn in the rest of the nation because some California industries are relatively insulated from a sharp downturn. Should the recession hit the low end of the chart, Graves emphasized, the loss to the state would be about $400 million. So the budget includes a $400 million allowance for "economic uncertainties." The budget shows a surplus at the end of the fiscal year of only $113 million (plus $161 million in federal revenue-sharing funds). By comparison, the state started the current fiscal year with a surplus approaching $3 billion. Observed Graves: "We're out of money."

Since Proposition 13 was enacted, the state has been spending its reserves to keep local government afloat. The proposed budget carries a general-fund deficit of $1.6 billion, and there will be no such cushion the following year. Graves claims that expenditure estimates in the 1980 - 81 budget are $200 million lower than normal because she squeezed out the water that normally can be found in departmental budgets. (Agencies have a habit of overestimating expenditures and underestimating revenues.) Without that squeeze, the budget would not have been balanced.

Yet, the budget can hardly be called lean. It may be only 8.6 percent higher than the estimated current level of expenditures, but it is almost 20 percent higher than the budget introduced a year ago — perhaps a more comparable figure. Brown made no effort to alter cost-of-living formulas that give welfare recipients and health-care providers boosts of almost 15 percent. And state income from tideland oil is increasing rapidly, which could make funds available for general-fund purposes. (Under current law, these revenues are restricted to construction and maintenance of educational facilities.)

If Jarvis II passes, it is clear that local government will be

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hit harder than state agencies. That is because almost 80 percent of the general-fund budget of $20.7 billion goes for local assistance. The governor set aside $427 million for salary increases to state workers, but this will be the first year of collective bargaining and there's no telling what the outcome will be. What kind of bargaining can there be if the Jarvis tax cut is approved?

The budget is based on a set of economic assumptions that are anything but optimistic. Graves forecast no change in corporate profits and added that they would be down overall if it weren't for the oil companies. In terms of percentage change, she predicts that personal income, taxable sales, auto sales, new housing units and civilian employment will all be down in 1980 compared to 1979. The unemployment rate will rise to 7.6 percent for the year, she said, and the consumer price index will rise 11.7 percent — 1 percent more than in 1979.

Indexing's effect

The reason why the golden-egg era is coming to an end is a sharp decrease in state revenues. Among major taxes, only the sales tax is holding up well. Growth in the personal income tax has been reduced dramatically by the initiation of the so-called indexing (adjustment for inflation) system. As a result, revenues from the income tax are projected at $6.8 billion for the year — down $1.4 billion from the level it would have reached without reductions enacted over the past few years.

Last year, Brown's January budget called for a reduction in the state work force. That drop failed to materialize, and the 1980-81 plan calls for an increase of almost 1,800 state workers. The budget contains for the first time a chart showing that employment by the state is not growing as rapidly as the state population. Some other elements in the budget:

- **Law.** The budget gives $1 million to the state Department of Water Resources to handle environmental lawsuits rejected by Attorney General George Deukmejian. This, in effect, makes Water Resources Director Ron Robie a mini-AG for environmental issues. The $1 million theoretically was taken from Deukmejian's Department of Justice budget, but his total allocation was increased, not decreased.
- **Tidelands.** Brown will ask for legislation that will allow the state to use tidelands oil money, increasing at a rapid rate, for general purposes and for an energy and resources fund in addition to capital outlay for education. (The tidelands fund now has a $180 million surplus.)
- **Health and welfare.** Welfare grants would rise 14.65 percent; Medi-Cal providers would get 9 percent increases, but county health-care providers would get 14.65 percent. Overall welfare costs would rise more than 20 percent, including increased case-load costs.
- **Higher education.** The University of California would get an increase of 5.9 percent and the state university system 3.8 percent. The community colleges would receive a 9 percent hike. Small enrollment increases are projected for all three systems. In the face of Jaws II, higher education administrators would be happy to receive the increases in the budget.

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Budget facts and figures

Total — $24 billion, up 8.6 percent from the current level of spending and 19.2 percent from the budget submitted a year ago.
Taxes — No tax increases or decreases (unless the Jarvis II initiative is approved in June).
Economic forecast: Mild recession, less severe than in the rest of the nation; recovery in 1981.
Where money goes: education, 44 percent; health and welfare, 29 percent; business and transportation, 6 percent; property tax relief, 6 percent.
How money is raised: sales tax, 33 percent; personal income tax, 31 percent; bank and corporation tax, 13 percent; transportation taxes, 9 percent.
Projected surplus: $113 million at the end of the 1980-81 fiscal year (plus $400 million held in reserve for economic uncertainties and $161 million in federal revenue-sharing funds).
State employees: 221,118, up 1,799 from the current year.
Pay raises: To be negotiated, with $427 million — equivalent to 9 percent — allocated in the budget.
Federal funds: $9.3 billion, up from $8.4 billion this year.
Total spending from all sources: $39.7 billion, up from $36.2 billion.
Oustanding bonded debt: $6.1 billion as of the end of 1979, up from $5.8 billion the previous year.

- **Public schools.** In accordance with legislation enacted last year, the schools would get 7.5 percent more money, despite a drop in enrollment of 1.1 percent.
- **Toxic wastes.** An additional $6.3 million is included in the budget for a doubling of state enforcement of laws governing use and disposal of chemicals.
- **Energy.** Brown earmarked $35 million for a variety of projects to conserve energy. They include capital projects on state facilities and incentives for private enterprise.
- **Arts.** The Arts Council, Brown's pet agency, would get a 50 percent boost, to about $12.5 million.
- **Transit.** The budget contains $146 million for mass transit projects under legislation enacted in 1979.
- **Prisons and hospitals.** The budget lists $20 million to relieve prison overcrowding, $100 million for new prisons and $92 million for upgrading mental hospitals. Davis conceded that the $100 million for prisons probably would not be used in the 1980-81 fiscal year.

Convincing voters

Other budgetary increases included $76 million for special school programs, $4 million to expand the California Conservation Corps, $3.5 million for small-business loans, $10 million for a new forestry program, and $16 million for costs associated with the increased prison population.

California managed to escape the Jarvis-Gann initiative of 1978 because of the hefty state surplus. This year, the Gann "Spirit of 13" proved no problem because projected state expenditures fall amost $800 million short of the spending limit set by Proposition 4.

If nothing else, Brown's new budget shows that there is no similar escape from the clutches of Jaws II. The Jarvis II budget now being prepared by the administration probably will be the prime campaign tool of those trying to defeat the tax-cut initiative next June. The task of those opposed to Jarvis II is to convince the electorate that this time around — unlike 1978 — predictions of massive service cutbacks and public inconvenience will indeed come true.

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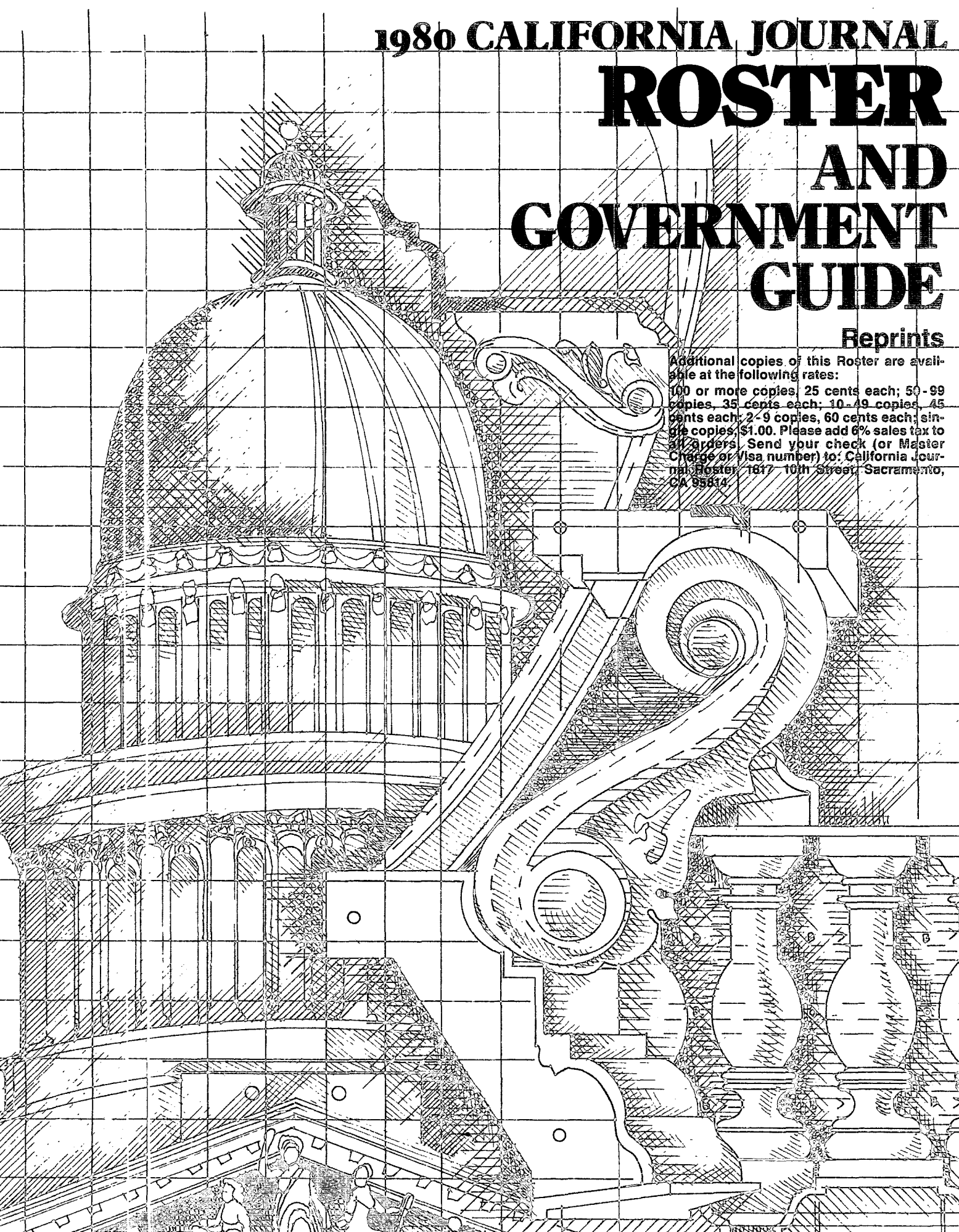

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Constitutional officers

Governor
Edmund G. Brown Jr. (D)
State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-2841

107 S. Broadway, Suite 7013
Los Angeles 90012
Tel. (213) 640-5280

Governor's cabinet

Mary Ann Graves, director of finance; 1145 State Capitol; (916) 445-4141.

Alice Lytle, secretary, state and consumer services agency, 1220 N St., Room 409, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1935.

Huey Johnson, secretary of resources; 1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-5656.

Mario Obledo, secretary of health and welfare; 915 Capitol Mall, Room 200, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-6951.

Mary Nichols, special assistant for environmental protection; Air Resources Board, 1102 Q St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 322-5840.

Richard Rominger, director, department of food and agriculture; 1220 N St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-7126.

Alan Stein, secretary of business and transportation; 1120 N St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1332.

Don Vial, director of industrial relations, 455 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94101; (415) 557-3356.

Special offices

Douglas Cunningham, executive director of the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, 7171 Bowling Drive, Sacramento 95823; (916) 445-9156.

Alex Cunningham, director of Office of Emergency Services, 2800 Meadowview Rd., Sacramento 95832; (916) 421-4990.

Marty Morgenstern, director of the Office of Employee Relations, 1230 J St., Room 262, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1574.

Deni Greene, director of Office of Planning and Research, 1400 10th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 322-2318.

Governor's office

Linda McKinney, *acting volunteerism* assistant, 322-6061.

Jacques Barzaghi, liaison and coordination assistant, 445-6131.

Wilson Clark, issues and planning assistant, 322-7261.

Gray Davis, executive secretary and chief of staff, 445-5106.

Diana Dooley, legislative assistant, 445-3921.

Peggy Jellison, scheduling assistant, 445-6533.

J. Anthony Kline, legal affairs secretary, 445-1915.

Carlotta Mellon, appointments secretary, 445-0658.

Barbara Metzger, press secretary, 445-4571.

Percy Pinkney, community relations assistant, 445-1956.

Lucie Gikovich, administrative assistant, 445-2843.

Cheryl Goble, correspondence, 445-1455.

Lt. Governor
Mike Curb (R)
1028 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-9533

Treasurer
Jesse M. Unruh (D)
915 Capitol Mall, Room 110
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-5316

Superintendent of Public Instruction
Wilson Riles (nonpartisan)
721 Capitol Mall, Room 524
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-4338

Secretary of State
March Fong Eu (D)
1230 J St.
Sacramento 95814
Elections division,
William Durley, chief;
Tel. (916) 445-0820

Controller
Ken Cory (D)
1114 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-3028

Attorney General
George Deukmejian (R)
555 Capitol Mall, Suite 550
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-9555

350 McAllister St., Room 6000
San Francisco 94102
Tel. (415) 557-2544

3580 Wilshire Blvd., Room 800
Los Angeles 90010
Tel. (213) 736-2304

110 West A St.
San Diego 92101
Tel. (714) 236-7351

State Supreme Court

Rose Elizabeth Bird, chief justice
Mathew O. Tobriner, associate justice
Stanley Mosk, associate justice
William P. Clark Jr., associate justice
Frank K. Richardson, associate justice
Wiley W. Manuel, associate justice
Frank Newman, associate justice

350 McAllister St., Room 4250
San Francisco 94102
Tel. (415) 557-1579

3580 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 90010
Tel. (213) 736-2902

Library and Courts Bldg., Room 100
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-7524

Board of Equalization

1020 N St.
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-6464

William Bennett (D), 3rd District, 1020 N St., Sacramento 95814 (P.O. Box 1799, Sacramento 95808), (916) 445-4081.

George R. Reilly (D), 1st District, State Bldg., 350 McAllister St., Room 2065, San Francisco 94102, (415) 557-1699.

Ernest J. Dronenburg Jr. (R), 2nd District, Chamber Building, 110 West C St., Suite 1709, San Diego 92101 (P.O. Box 12188, San Diego 92112), (714) 237-7844.

Richard Nevins (D), 4th District, 333 E. Walnut St., Pasadena 91101 (P.O. Bin 77, Pasadena 91109), (213) 681-3551.

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Alice Lytle, agency secretary
1220 N St., Room 409, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-1935

Department of Consumer Affairs
Richard Spohn, director
1020 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1254

State Fire Marshal
Philip C. Favro, marshal
7171 Bowling Drive, Suite 800, Sacramento 95823 (916) 322-2370

Franchise Tax Board
Robert O'Connor, acting executive officer
P.O. Box 1468, Sacramento 95807
(916) 445-0408

Department of General Services
David E. Jannsen, director
915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3441

State Personnel Board
Ronald Kurtz, director
801 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-2530

Public Employees Retirement System
Carl Blechinger, executive officer
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(P.O. Box 1953, Sacramento 95809).
(916) 322-5300

State Teachers Retirement System
Michael Thome, executive officer
1010 Hurley Way, Sacramento 95825
(916) 920-7009

Department of Veterans Affairs
Virginia Mae Days, director
1227 O St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2334

Business and Transportation Agency

Alan Stein, agency secretary
1120 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1332

Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control
Baxter Rice, director
1215 O St. Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3221

State Banking Department
Morton Michaels, acting superintendent
235 Montgomery St., San Francisco 94104
(415) 557-3535
555 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5966
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005 (213) 736-2471

Department of Corporations
Geraldine Green, commissioner
1025 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-7205
600 California St., San Francisco 94108
(415) 557-3787
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005 (213) 736-2741
1350 Front St., San Diego 92101
(714) 237-7341

Department of Economic and Business Development
Betty Bryant, director
1120 N St., Room 2233, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-1394

Highway Patrol
Glen B. Craig, commissioner
2555 1st Ave., Sacramento 95818
(916) 445-7473

Department of Housing and Community Development
I. Donald Terner, director
921 10th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4775

California Housing Finance Agency
Frank Patitucci, president
301 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3991

Department of Insurance
Wesley Kinder, commissioner
100 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-1126
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005 (213) 736-2572

Department of Motor Vehicles
Doris V. Alexis, director
2415 1st Ave., Sacramento 95818
(P.O. Box 1828, Sacramento 95809)
(916) 445-5281

Department of Real Estate
David H. Fox, commissioner
714 P St., Suite 1550, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3996

Department of Savings and Loan
Patrick Connolly, acting commissioner
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005 (213) 736-2798
350 Sansome St., San Francisco 94104
(415) 557-3666

Office of Solar Business (SolarCal)
Jerry Yudelson, director
921 10th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0970

Stephen P. Teale Consolidated Data Center
Ira B. Isabell, director
2415 1st Ave., Sacramento 95818
(916) 445-2910

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Adriana Gianturco, director
1120 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2201

Health and Welfare Agency

Mario Obledo, agency secretary
915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6951

Department of Aging
Janet J. Levy, director
918 J St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3887

Office of Alcoholism and Drug Abuse
Rita Saenz, director
111 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-2974

Board of Prison Terms
Howard Way, chairman
545 Downtown Plaza, Suite 200, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-4071

Board of Corrections
Norma Lammers, executive officer
1924 T St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5073

Department of Corrections
Jerry Enomoto, director
714 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-7682

Data Center
Russ Bohart, director
112 J St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-2351

Department of Developmental Services
David Loberg, director
744 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 920-6701

Employment Development Department
Gene Livingston, acting director
800 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-8008

Department of Health Services
Beverlee A. Myers, director
714 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4171

Department of Mental Health
Dr. Dale Farabee, director
2260 Park Towne Circle, Sacramento 95825 (916) 920-7154

Department of Rehabilitation
Ed Roberts, director
830 K St. Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-8638

Department of Social Services
Marion Woods, director
744 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4500

Office of Statewide Health Planning and Development
Henry Zaretsky, director
714 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3212

Youth Authority
Pearl West, director
4241 Williamsbourgh Dr., Sacramento 95823 (916) 445-4673

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Huey Johnson, agency secretary
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5656

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Mary Nichols, chairwoman
1102 Q St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-2990

California Coastal Commission
Michael Fisher, director
631 Howard St., San Francisco 94105
(415) 543-8555

California Conservation Corps
B. T. Collins, director
1530 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0307

Coastal Conservancy
Joseph Petrillo, executive officer
1212 Broadway, Oakland 94612
(415) 464-1015

Colorado River Board of California
Myron Holburt, chief engineer
107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012
(213) 620-4480

Department of Conservation
Priscilla Grew, director
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-7683

Department of Fish and Game
E. C. Fullerton, director
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
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1629 S St., Sacramento 95814
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1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6477

Reclamation Board
Eldon Rinehart, general manager
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9454

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30 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-3686

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1020 9th St., Suite 300, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3330

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1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
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1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9248

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Boren Chertkov, general counsel
915 Capitol Mall, 3rd Floor, Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-7017

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Floyd R. Mitzner, chief counsel
1215 O St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4005

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William Cook, director
2022 J St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1530

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Gerald C. Hayward, chancellor
1238 S St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-8752

State Board of Control
Eugene Veglia, executive secretary
926 J St., Suite 300, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1540

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Michael Kirst, president
721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9016

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923 12th St., Sacramento 95814
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1111 Howe Ave., Sacramento 95825
(916) 920-6811

Fair Employment Practices Commission
Joanne Lewis, chief
455 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco
(P.O. Box 603, San Francisco 94101)
(415) 557-2000

Fair Political Practices Commission
Ted Prim, executive director
1100 K Street Mall, Sacramento 95814
(P.O. Box 807, Sacramento 95804)
(916) 322-5660

Department of Finance
Mary Ann Graves, director
1145 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3878

Department of Food and Agriculture
Richard E. Rominger, director
1220 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9280

California Health Facilities Commission
Gordon Cumming, acting executive director
555 Capitol Mall, Room 525, Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-2810

Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy
(Little Hoover Commission)
Les Halcomb, executive director
11th and L Bldg., Suite 550, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-2125

California Horse Racing Board
Nathaniel Colley, chairman
455 Capitol Mall, Suite 230, Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-9228

Department of Industrial Relations
Don Vial, director
455 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94101 (415) 557-3356

Judicial Council of California
Ralph J. Gampell, director
601 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-3203

Commission on Judicial Performance
Jack E. Frankel, executive director
3180 State Building, San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0686

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State Controller Ken Cory, chairman
1807 13th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-4105
100 Oceangate, Suite 300, Long Beach 90802 (213) 590-5201

Division of Libraries (State Library)
Ethel Crockett, state librarian
Library and Courts Bldg., Sacramento 95814 (P.O. Box 2037, Sacramento 95809) (916) 445-4374

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California Postsecondary Education Commission
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Public Broadcasting Commission
Ed Stokes, director
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Public Utilities Commission
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(415) 557-3914

Seismic Safety Commission
Robert Olson, executive director
1900 K St., Suite 100, Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-4917

California State University and Colleges
Glenn Dumke, chancellor
400 Golden Shore, Long Beach 90802
(213) 590-5506

Commission on the Status of Women
Pamela Faust, director
926 J St., Room 1506, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-3173

Student Aid Commission
Arthur Marmaduke, director
1410 5th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0880

Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing
Peter LoPresti, executive director
1020 O St., Room 222, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-7254

Trustees of the State Colleges
Claudia Hampton, chairwoman
400 Golden Shore, Long Beach 90802
(213) 590-5506

University of California
David Saxon, president
714 University Hall, Berkeley 94720
(415) 642-6000

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Chester Hart, executive officer
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-8448

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Senators

Name	Party	California Offices*	Telephone
Alan Cranston	D	10960 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024	(213) 824-7641
		1 Hallidie Plaza, San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-8440
S. I. Hayakawa	R	1390 Market St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-8686
		3080 East Olive St., Fresno 93701	(209) 487-5512
		523 W. 6th St., Los Angeles 90014	(213) 688-6081
		880 Front St., San Diego 92188	(714) 293-7100

Hayakawa

Cranston

Representatives

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office**	Telephone
Anderson, Glenn M.	D	32	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	300 Long Beach Blvd., Long Beach 90801	(213) 548-2551
Badham, Robert	R	40	Orange (southern) San Diego (northern)	1649 Westcliff Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 631-0040
Bellenson, Anthony	D	23	Los Angeles (Encino, Beverly Hills)	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 14223, Los Angeles 90024	(213) 824-7801
Brown, George E. Jr.	D	36	San Bernardino, Riverside (urban)	290 N. D St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 825-2472
Burgener, Clair W.	R	43	San Diego (Del Mar, El Cajon), Imperial	880 Front St., Room 5S35, San Diego 92188	(714) 231-1912
Burton, John	D	5	Marin, parts of San Francisco, Sonoma	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-1333
Burton, Phillip	D	6	Most of San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-4862
Clausen, Donald H.	R	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, part of Sonoma	777 Sonoma Ave., Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 525-4316
Coelho, Tony	D	15	Merced, Mariposa, Madera, part of Stanislaus and Fresno	415 W. 18th, Merced 95340	(209) 383-4455
Corman, James	D	21	L.A. (San Fernando Valley)	14545 Friar St., Van Nuys 91411	(213) 787-1776
Danielson, George E.	D	30	Los Angeles (Monterey Park, El Monte)	8873 E. Valley, Rosemead 91770	(213) 688-3454
Dannemeyer, William	R	39	Orange, (Anaheim, Fullerton)	1370 Brea Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 992-0141
Dellums, Ronald V.	D	8	Alameda (northern), part of Contra Costa	201 13th St., Room 105, Oakland 94604	(415) 763-0370
Dixon, Julian	D	28	L.A. (Inglewood, Culver City)	1 La Brea Plaza, Inglewood 90301	(213) 678-5424
Dornan, Robert	R	27	L.A. (Coastal)	6151 W. Century Blvd., Suite 1018, Los Angeles 90045	(213) 642-5111
Edwards, Don	D	10	Alameda (southern), Santa Clara (northern)	1625 The Alameda, Room 709, San Jose 95126	(408) 292-0143
Fazio, Vic	D	4	Colusa, Sutter, Yolo, Solano, part of Sacramento	823 Marin St., Vallejo 94590	(707) 552-0720
Goldwater, Barry, Jr.	R	20	Ventura (eastern), Los Angeles (northwestern)	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-1233
Grisham, Wayne	R	33	L.A. (Whittier, Downey)	13601 E. Whittier Blvd., Whittier 90605	(213) 945-3061
Hawkins, Augustus	D	29	Los Angeles (Watts)	936 W. Manchester Ave., Los Angeles 90044	(213) 750-0260
Johnson, Harold T.	D	1	Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity, Modoc, Butte, Sierra, Lassen, Plumas, Nevada, Placer, Yuba, Glenn, part of Sacramento	320 Vernon St., Roseville 95678	(916) 782-4411
Lagomarsino, Robert	R	19	Santa Barbara, parts of San Luis Obispo and Ventura	5740 Ralston St., Ventura 93003	(805) 642-2200
Lewis, Jerry	R	37	San Bernardino and Riverside (rural)	101 S. 6th, Redlands 92373	(714) 792-5901
Lloyd, Jim	D	35	L.A. (Covina, Pomona), west San Bernardino	100 S. Vincent, Suite 507, West Covina 91790	(213) 919-5711
Lungren, Dan	R	34	Los Angeles (eastern Long Beach), north coastal Orange	5514 Britton Dr., Long Beach 90815	(213) 594-9761
McCloskey, Paul, Jr.	R	12	Santa Clara (northwestern), some of San Mateo	305 Grant Ave., Palo Alto 94306	(415) 326-7383
Matsui, Robert	D	3	Most of Sacramento	650 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814	(916) 440-3543
Miller, George	D	7	Most of Contra Costa	367 Civic Dr., Pleasant Hill 94523	(415) 687-3260
Mineta, Norman	D	13	Santa Clara (southern)	1245 S. Winchester Blvd., San Jose 95128	(408) 984-6045
Moorhead, Carlos J.	R	22	L.A. (Burbank, Glendale)	420 N. Brand Blvd., Room 404, Glendale 91203	(213) 247-8445
Panetta, Leon	D	16	Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Benito, part of San Luis Obispo	380 Alvarado, Monterey 93940	(408) 649-3555
Pashayan, Charles	R	17	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Fresno	4009 E. Ashland St., Fresno 93726 (P.O. Box 12011, Fresno 93776)	(209) 487-5487
Patterson, Jerry	D	38	Orange (Buena Park, Westminster, Santa Ana)	34 Civic Center Plaza, Suite 921, Santa Ana 92701	(714) 835-3811
Rousselot, John H.	R	26	L.A. (Alhambra, Glendora)	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 447-8125
Roybal, Edward R.	D	25	L.A. (Downtown, East L.A.)	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-4870
Royer, William	R	11	Most of San Mateo	2121 S. El Camino Real, San Mateo 94402	(415) 349-1978
Shumway, Norman	R	14	San Joaquin, El Dorado, Amador, Alpine, Calaveras, Mono, Tuolumne, parts of Sacramento and Stanislaus	1045 N. El Dorado St., Stockton 95202	(209) 464-7612
Stark, Fortney (Pete)	D	9	Alameda (central and eastern)	7 Eastmont Mall, Oakland 94605	(415) 635-1092
Thomas, William	R	18	Inyo, Kern, parts of Tulare and Los Angeles (desert)	1830 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 327-3611
Van Deerlin, Lionel	D	42	San Diego (southwest)	815 E St., Rm. 201, San Diego 92101	(714) 233-8959
Waxman, Henry A.	D	24	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	8425 West 3rd, Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-1040
Wilson, Charles H.	D	31	L.A. (Hawthorne, Compton)	15000 Aviation Blvd., Lawndale 90261	(213) 536-6680
Wilson, Bob	R	41	San Diego (Mission Valley)	880 Front St., Suite 6S15, San Diego 92188	(714) 231-0957

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Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	11	Alameda, San Benito, Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St., San Jose 95112	(408) 286-8318	445-9740
Ayala, Ruben S.	D	32	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	353 W. 6th St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-3165	445-6868
Beverly, Robert G.	R	27	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Highway, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-1611	445-6447
Briggs, John V.	R	35	Orange	1441 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 879-2345	445-4264
Campbell, William	R	33	Los Angeles	7624 Painter Ave., Whittier 90602	(213) 693-8284	445-2848
Carpenter, Paul B.	D	37	Orange	1600 N. Broadway, Santa Ana 92706	(714) 547-9401	445-5581
Craven, William	R	38	Imperial, Riverside, San Diego	550 W. Vista Way, Vista 92083	(714) 726-7676	445-3731
Cusanovich, Lou	R	19	Los Angeles, Ventura	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 888-0242	445-8873
Dills, Ralph C.	D	28	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 324-4969	445-5953
Foran, John F.	D	6	San Francisco, San Mateo	15 Southgate Ave., Daly City 94015	(415) 755-1766	445-0503
Garamendi, John	D	13	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7930	445-2407
Garcia, Alex P.	D	24	Los Angeles	205 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012	(213) 628-5155	445-3456
Garcia, Marz	R	10	San Mateo, Santa Clara	734 Menlo Ave., Menlo Park 94025	(415) 324-8932	445-0870
Greene, Bill	D	29	Los Angeles	8514 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003	(213) 620-5600	445-2104
Holmdahl, John W.	D	8	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-4844	445-6671
Johnson, Ray	R	1	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lassen, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yuba	2400 Washington Plaza, Redding 96001	(916) 244-6006	445-6747
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Marin, Mendocino, Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94901	(415) 472-7540	445-3375
Maddy, Ken	R	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus	1310 Security Bank Bldg., Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 485-6260	445-9000
Marks, Milton	R	5	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412
Mills, James R.	D	40	San Diego	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7812	445-6767
Montoya, Joseph	D	26	Los Angeles	8951 Glendon Way, Rosemead 91770	(213) 571-2928	445-3386
Nejedly, John A.	R	7	Contra Costa	1855 Olympic Blvd., Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 934-4558	445-6083
Nielsen, Jim	R	4	Napa, Sacramento, Solano Sonoma, Yolo	415 Main St., Woodland 95695	(916) 662-7315	445-3353
Nimmo, Robert	R	17	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz	1303 Garden St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 544-2274	445-5843
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	9	Alameda, Contra Costa	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577
Presley, Robert B.	D	34	Riverside, San Bernardino	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 781-4111	445-9781
Rains, Omer L.	D	18	Santa Barbara, Ventura	501 Poli St., Ventura 93001	(805) 654-4648	445-5405
Richardson, H. L.	R	25	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 445-4404	445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	6320 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 988-5894	445-3121
Roberti, David A.	D	23	Los Angeles	6640 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 90028	(213) 464-1178	445-8390
Rodda, Albert S.	D	3	Sacramento	5052 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-5788	445-5788
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	401 N. Brand Ave., Glendale 91203	(213) 247-7021	445-5976
Schmitz, John	R	36	Orange	4600 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 979-9670	445-5831
Sieroty, Alan	D	22	Los Angeles	11340 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90064	(213) 479-4244	445-7928
Speraw, Ollie	R	31	Los Angeles	1800 Wardlow Rd., Long Beach 90807	(213) 426-7021	445-4961
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	315 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2797	445-6637
Vuich, Rose Ann	D	15	Fresno, Kern, Kings, Tulare	120 W. Tulare, Dinuba 93618	(209) 591-5005	445-4641
Watson, Diane E.	D	30	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215
Wilson, Bob	D	39	San Diego	2165 San Diego Ave., San Diego 92110	(714) 237-7139	445-3952
Vacancy		12	Santa Clara	2185 The Alameda, San Jose 95126	(408) 984-7290	445-3104

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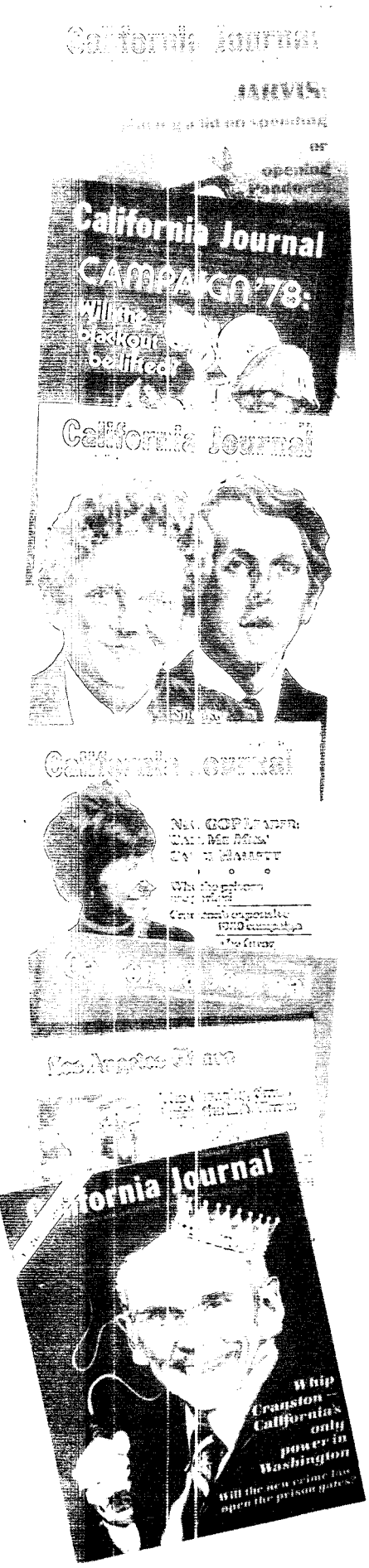

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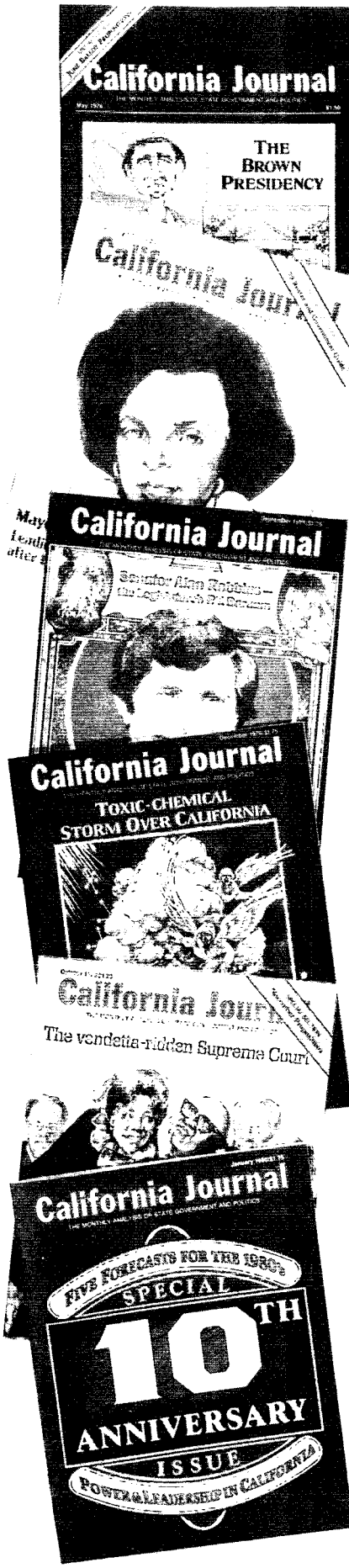

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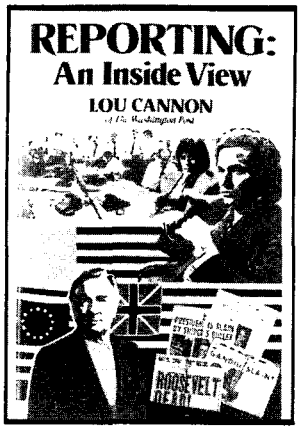

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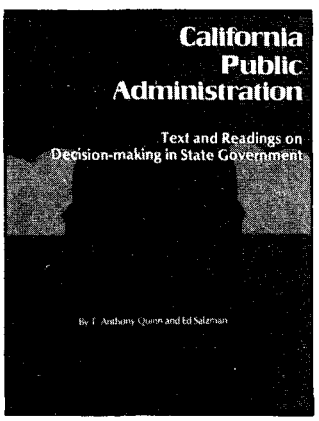

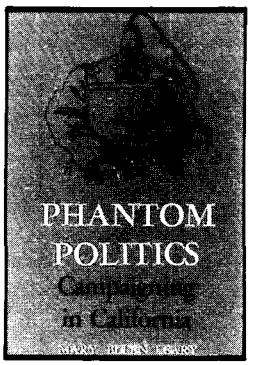

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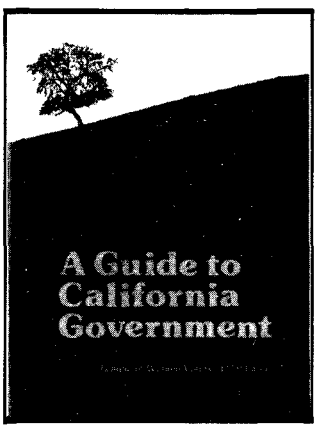

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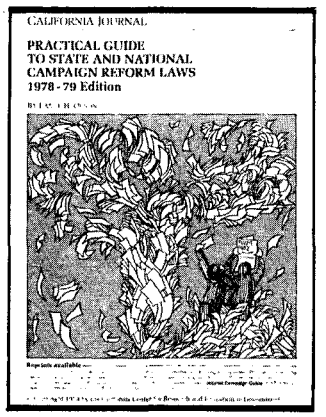
CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT and POLITICS ANNUAL, 1979-80. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, taxation, local government, the environment, business, health and welfare. The book also includes a "Practical Guide to California Government and Politics." 1979. 8½ x 11, 128 pages. $3.71.



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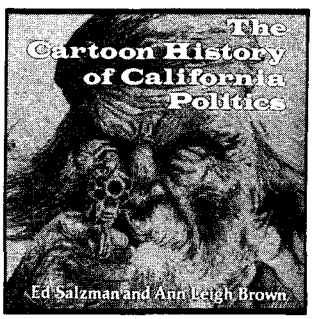

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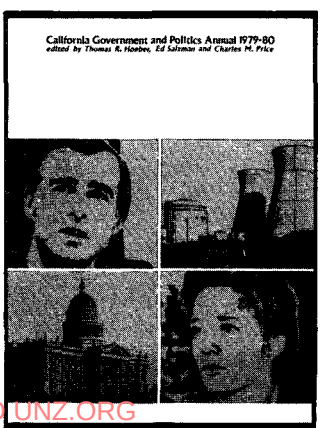
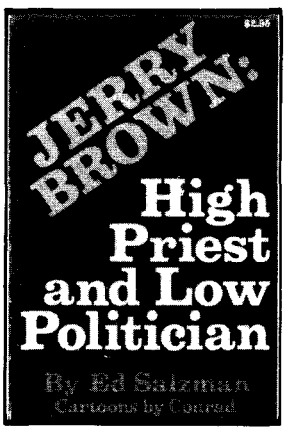
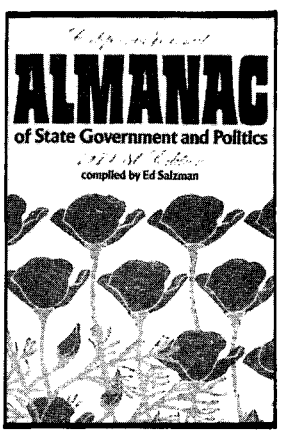


JERRY BROWN: HIGH PRIEST AND LOW POLITICIAN, Analyzes the phenomenal political ascent of Governor Brown, assesses his performance as the state's chief executive and speculates on where he goes from here. Contains some of the Governor's most quotable quotes, his first two state-of-the-state messages, a sampling of his pithy veto messages and photographs of the Governor in action. The author is the editor of the *California Journal*, and much of the material in the book first appeared in the magazine. The cartoons are by Paul Conrad of the *Los Angeles Times*. 1977. 5½ x 8½, 127 pages. $3.13 paper.





ALMANAC OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS 1979-80. Revised and updated Third edition. Contains 180 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information, and much more. 1979, 6 x 9, 192 pages. $4.19 paper.

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Assembly

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Agnos, Art	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Alatorre, Richard	D	55	Los Angeles (East Los Angeles)	6801 N. Figueroa St., Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles (N. Hollywood, Van Nuys, Reseda)	5430 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 986-8090	445-3134
Bannai, Paul T.	R	53	Los Angeles (Hawthorne, Gardena)	1919 W. Redondo Beach Blvd., Gardena 90247	(213) 327-5920	445-0965
Bates, Tom	D	12	Alameda, Contra Costa	3923 Grand Ave., Oakland 94610	(415) 464-0786	445-7554
Bergeson, Marian	R	74	Orange (coastal)	833 Dover Dr., Newport Beach 92663	(714) 631-3174	445-7222
Berman, Howard	D	43	Los Angeles, (Beverly Hills, Westwood)	520 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Los Angeles 90049	(213) 476-7646	445-4956
Boatwright, Daniel	D	10	Contra Costa (eastern)	1035 Detroit Ave., Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-8528
Bosco, Doug	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma (northern)	411 J St., Eureka 95501	(707) 445-2055	445-8360
Brown, Dennis	R	58	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	2750 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach 90815	(213) 420-2661	445-8492
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Calvo, Victor	D	21	Santa Clara (northwestern)	1265 Montecito Ave., Mountain View 94043	(415) 961-6031	445-7632
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego (City of San Diego, Coronado)	5106 Federal Blvd., San Diego 92105	(714) 263-2148	445-7610
Chappie, Eugene	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra Nevada, Placer, half of Butte	459 Pelora, Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298
Cline, Robert C.	R	37	Los Angeles (San Fernando Valley), part of Ventura	19240 Nordhoff St., Northridge 91324	(213) 349-3333	445-7676
Costa, Jim	D	30	Madera, Mariposa, part of Fresno	1111 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 264-3078	445-7558
Deddeh, Wadie P.	D	80	San Diego (National City, Chula Vista)	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7080	445-7556
Duffy, Gordon	R	32	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Kern	321 N. Douty, Hanford 93230	(209) 582-4431	445-2931
Egeland, Leona H.	D	24	San Benito, Santa Clara (rural)	3535 Ross Ave., San Jose 95124	(408) 269-6500	445-8243
Elder, Dave	D	57	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	3651 Atlantic Ave., Long Beach 90807	(213) 427-8921	445-7454
Ellis, Jim	R	77	San Diego	2755 Navajo Rd., Lower Level El Cajon 92020	(714) 464-7204	445-6161
Felando, Gerald	R	52	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	23545 Crenshaw Blvd., Torrance 90505	(213) 530-6151	445-7906
Fenton, Jack R.	D	59	Los Angeles (Alhambra, Monterey Park)	1601 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 724-3400	445-0854
Filante, William	R	9	Marin, part of Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94903	(415) 479-4920	445-7827
Frazee, Bob	R	76	San Diego (La Jolla, Del Mar)	2725 Jefferson St., Carlsbad 92008	(714) 434-1749	445-2390
Gage, Mike	D	8	Napa, Solano, Sonoma	920 College Ave., Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 542-4433	445-8102
Goggin, Terry	D	66	San Bernardino (urban)	Vanir Tower Plaza, San Bernardino 92402	(714) 884-1241	445-4843
Greene, Leroy F.	D	6	Sacramento	5925 Fair Oaks Blvd., Carmichael 95608	(916) 481-6540	445-7807
Hallett, Carol	R	29	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1145 Marsh St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 549-3381	445-7795
Hannigan, Tom	D	4	Yolo, parts of Solano and Sacramento	1000 Webster St., Fairfield 94533	(707) 429-2383	445-8368
Harris, Elihu	D	13	Alameda (northwestern)	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-0339	445-7442
Hart, Gary	D	35	Most of Santa Barbara	1129-B State St., Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-8292
Hayden, Richard D.	R	22	Santa Clara (southern)	21060 Homestead Road, Cupertino 95014	(408) 446-4114	445-8305
Hayes, Robert	R	39	Los Angeles (eastern San Fernando Valley)	13189 Osborn St., Arleta 91331	(213) 896-0751	445-1616
Hughes, Teresa P.	D	47	Los Angeles (Huntington Park)	3253 S. Hoover Ave., Los Angeles 90017	(213) 747-7451	445-7498
Imbrecht, Charles	R	36	Ventura	801 S. Victoria Ave., Ventura 93003	(805) 654-4501	445-7402
Ingalls, Walter	D	68	Riverside (urban)	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 781-3222	445-1720
Ivers, Bill	R	42	Los Angeles (Pasadena, Glendale)	260 S. Los Robles, Pasadena 91101	(213) 449-4747	445-8211
Johnson, Ross	R	69	Orange	1501 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 738-5853	445-7448
Kapiloff, Lawrence	D	78	San Diego (Mission Hills, Linda Vista)	967 Hornblend, San Diego 92109	(714) 270-5500	445-7210
Kelley, David	R	75	Imperial, deserts parts of Riverside, San Diego	740-75 El Paseo, Palm Desert 92260	(714) 568-0361	445-7852
Knox, John T.	D	11	Contra Costa (western)	3607 Macdonald Ave., Richmond 94805	(415) 237-8171	445-7890

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Assembly (continued)

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Lancaster, William	R	62	Los Angeles (Covina, Claremont)	372 E. Rowland St., Covina 91723	(213) 332-6271	445-9234
Lehman, Richard	D	31	Fresno, Tulare	55 Shaw Ave., Clovis 93612	(209) 298-6571	445-8514
Leonard, Bill	R	67	San Bernardino, Riverside (rural)	405 E. Citrus Ave., Redlands 92373	(714) 862-5251	445-7552
Levine, Mel	D	44	Los Angeles (Beverly Hills)	9581 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	(213) 277-5228	445-1676
Lockyer, Bill	D	14	Alameda (central)	2450 Washington Ave., San Leandro 94577	(415) 464-0847	445-8160
Mangers, Dennis	D	73	Orange	16371 Beach Blvd., Huntington Beach 92647	(714) 848-1168	445-8377
McAlister, Alister	D	25	Santa Clara (northeastern), part of Alameda	555 Valley Way, Milpitas 95035	(415) 791-2151	445-7874
McCarthy, Leo T.	D	18	San Francisco, part of San Mateo	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2662	445-8994
McVittie, Bill	D	65	Los Angeles (Pomona) and San Bernardino (Ontario)	12530 10th St., Chino 91710	(714) 627-3529	445-8490
Mello, Henry J.	D	28	Monterey, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito, Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-8496
Moore, Gwen	D	49	Los Angeles (Culver City)	3731 Stocker St., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 292-0605	445-8800
Moorhead, Jean	R	5	Sacramento	6021 Madison Ave., Carmichael 95608	(916) 334-8228	445-4445
Mori, S. Floyd	D	15	Alameda (southern, eastern)	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-5533	445-7380
Mountjoy, Dick	R	61	Los Angeles (San Gabriel, Arcadia)	406 S. 1st St., Arcadia 91006	(213) 446-3134	445-7234
Naylor, Bob	R	20	San Mateo (southern)	621 Middlefield Rd., Redwood City 94063	(415) 365-1426	445-8188
Nestande, Bruce	R	70	Orange (City of Orange, Tustin)	920 Town & Country Rd., Orange 92668	(714) 542-4775	445-2778
Nolan, Patrick	R	41	Los Angeles (Burbank, Glendale)	143 S. Glendale Ave., Glendale 91205	(213) 240-6330	445-8364
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo (northern)	343-E Serramonte Plaza, Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020
Perino, Carmen	D	26	Parts of San Joaquin and Stanislaus	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931
Priolo, Paul	R	38	Los Angeles (Malibu Coast), part of Ventura	4883 Topanga Canyon Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-8400	445-8366
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange (Santa Ana, Garden Grove)	Civic Center Office Bldg., 11400 Stanford Ave., Garden Grove 92640	(714) 530-7200	445-7333
Rogers, Donald	R	33	Most of Kern	412 18th St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2927	445-8498
Roos, Mike	D	46	Los Angeles (Wilshire, Silver Lake)	600 S. New Hampshire, Los Angeles 90005	(213) 386-8042	445-7644
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	45	Los Angeles (Fairfax, Studio City)	8425 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440
Ryan, Marilyn	R	51	Los Angeles (coastal)	1815 Via El Prado, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-8182	445-2112
Statham, Stan	R	1	Butte, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	1415 Court St., Redding 96001	(916) 244-6300	445-7266
Stirling, Dave	R	64	Los Angeles	13601 East Whittier Blvd., Whittier 90605	(213) 945-1524	445-7550
Tanner, Sally	D	60	Los Angeles (El Monte, La Puente)	11362 Valley Blvd., El Monte 91731	(213) 442-9100	445-7783
Thurman, John E.	D	27	Most of Stanislaus and Merced	930 15th St., Modesto 95354	(209) 521-1111	445-8570
Torres, Art	D	56	Los Angeles (downtown, City of Commerce)	5261 E. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90022	(213) 728-8882	445-1670
Tucker, Curtis R.	D	50	Los Angeles (Inglewood, Westchester)	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90306	(213) 677-1188	445-7533
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara (urban)	2435 Forest Ave., San Jose 95128	(408) 241-6900	445-4253
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles (Compton)	8040 E. Alondra Blvd., Paramount 90723	(213) 531-0265	445-7486
Waters, Maxine	D	48	Los Angeles	7900 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90001	(213) 582-7371	445-2363
Waters, Norman	D	7	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Tuolumne	218 W. Pine St., Lodi 95240	(209) 334-0568	445-8343
Wray, Chester B.	D	71	Orange	12777 Valley View, Garden Grove 92645	(714) 898-7844	445-6233
Wyman, Phil	R	34	Inyo, parts of Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	813 West Avenue J, Lancaster 93534	(805) 948-8447	445-3266
Young, Bruce E.	D	63	Los Angeles	12440 E. Firestone Blvd., Norwalk 90650	(213) 868-0561	445-6047

*During legislative session, mail for assemblymen may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

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Leo McCarthy

Legislative leadership

Assembly

Speaker Leo McCarthy (D)
Speaker pro Tempore John Knox (D)
Majority Floor Leader Willie Brown (D)
Minority Floor Leader Carol Hallett (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Howard Berman
Republican Caucus Chairman Charles Imbrecht

Senate

President of the Senate Lt. Governor Mike Curb (R)
President pro Tempore James Mills (D)
Majority Floor Leader David Roberti (D)
Minority Floor Leader William Campbell (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Omer Rains
Republican Caucus Chairman Ken Maddy

James Mills

Senate standing committees

Rules (3D,2R):
Chairman Mills (D); Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Nimmo (R); Petris (D); Presley (D).
Executive officer, Bruce Samuel, 445-4311.

Agriculture and Water Resources (7D, 4R):
Chairman Ayala (D); Vice Chairman Craven (R); Garamendi (D); Alex Garcia (D); Johnson (R); Keene (D); Maddy (R); Nielsen (R); Presley (D); Stiern (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Stephen Macola, 445-2206.

Business and Professions (5D, 4R):
Chairman Alex Garcia (D); Vice Chairman Roberti (D); Briggs (R); Craven (R); Greene (D); Marks (R); Montoya (D); Speraw (R); Wilson (D).
Consultant, Michael J. Wadlé, 445-3435.

Education (7D, 4R):
Chairman Carpenter (D); Vice Chairman Montoya (D); Alquist (D); Cusanovich (R); Dills (D); Maddy (R); Nielsen (R); Rodda (D); Speraw (R); Stiern (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, James Browne, 445-2522.

Elections and Reapportionment (4D, 3R):
Chairman Keene (D); Vice Chairman Craven (R); Campbell (R); Mills (D); Rains (D); Roberti (D); Schmitz (R).
Consultant, James Browning, 445-2601.

Energy and Public Utilities (5D, 3R):
Chairman Alquist (D); Vice Chairman Rains (D); Cusanovich (R); Dills (D); Foran (D); Garamendi (D); Marz Garcia (R); Keene (D); Russell (R).
Consultant, Tim Davis, 445-9765.

Finance (5D, 4R):
Chairman Roberti (D); Vice Chairman Cusanovich (R); Alquist (D); Briggs (R); Campbell (R); Greene (D); Holmdahl (D); Nejedly (R); Nimmo (R); Petris (D); Presley (D); Roberti (D); Stiern (D).
Consultant, Jack Watson, 445-5202.

Governmental Organization (5D, 4R):
Chairman Dills (D); Vice Chairman Nimmo (R); Alquist (D); Beverly (R); Carpenter (D); Cusanovich (R); Foran (D); Greene (D); Marks (R).
Consultant, Lindsay W. Miller, 445-1193.

Health and Welfare (5D, 3R):
Chairman Garamendi (D); Vice Chairwoman Watson (D); Campbell (R); Carpenter (D); Alex Garcia (D); Keene (D); Maddy (R); Marks (R).
Consultant, Dennis Flatt, 445-5965.

Industrial Relations (4D, 3R):
Chairman Greene (D); Vice Chairman Schmitz (R); Johnson (R); Montoya (D); Robbins (D); Russell (R); Sieroty (D).

Senate committee schedule

	Room	
Monday		
Finance	4203	1:30 p.m.
Local government	5007	1:30 p.m.
Public employment and retirement	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Tuesday		
Governmental organization	5007	9:30 a.m.
Agriculture and water resources	3191	9:30 a.m.*
Natural resources and wildlife	3191	9:30 a.m.**
Judiciary	4203	1:30 p.m.
Energy and public utilities	2040	1:30 p.m.**
Transportation	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Wednesday		
Education	4203	9:30 a.m.
Business and professions	3191	9:30 a.m.**
Elections and reapportionment	2040	9:30 a.m.*
Health and welfare	4203	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and taxation	5007	1:30 p.m.
Industrial relations	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Insurance and financial institutions	2040	1:30 p.m.**
Rules	5007	9:30 a.m.

Committees meet every week unless indicated otherwise.
*Meets 1st and 3rd weeks of month.
**Meets 2nd and 4th weeks of month.

Consultant, Casey Young, 445-1237.

Insurance and Financial Institutions (4D, 4R):
Chairman Beverly (R); Vice Chairman Robbins (D); Briggs (R); Foran (D); Russell (R); Schmitz (R); Vuich (D); Wilson (D).
Consultant, Terry J. Miller, 445-6306.

Judiciary (5D, 4R):
Chairman Wilson (D); Vice Chairman Presley (D); Beverly (R); Maddy (R); Nejedly (R); Richardson (R); Robbins (D); Roberti (D); Sieroty (D).
Consultant, Richard Thomson, 445-5957.

Local Government (4D, 3R):
Chairman Marks (R); Vice Chairwoman Vuich (D); Ayala (D); Beverly (R); Craven (R); Robbins (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, J. Fred Silva, 445-9748.

Natural Resources and Wildlife (5D, 3R):
Chairman Nejedly (R); Vice Chairman Keene (D); Ayala (D); Garamendi (D); Nielsen (R); Rains (D); Richardson (R); Rodda (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, Jeffrey D. Arthur, 445-5441.

Public Employment and Retirement (3D, 2R):
Chairman Russell (R); Vice Chairman Sieroty (D); Carpenter (D); Marz Garcia (R); Wilson (D).
Consultant, Robert Bissonnette, 445-8958.

Revenue and Taxation, (5D, 4R):
Chairman Holmdahl (D); Vice Chairman Marz Garcia (R); Ayala (D); Dills (D); Nielsen (R); Petris (D); Richardson (R); Sieroty (D); Speraw (R).
Consultant, Vance Hansen, 445-3808.

Transportation (5D, 3R):
Chairman Foran (D); Vice Chairman Speraw (R); Briggs (R); Holmdahl (D); Johnson (R); Mills (D); Montoya (D); Rains (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, M. Mehdi Morshed, 445-3182.

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Assembly standing committees

Agriculture (6D, 3R):
Chairman Thurman (D); Vice Chairman Costa (D); Bosco (D); Chappie (R); Duffy (R); Hallett (R); Hannigan (D); McVittie (D); Norman Waters (D).
Consultant, Jack Toigo, 445-1918.

Criminal Justice (6D, 3R):
Chairman McVittie (D); Vice Chairman Knox (D); Alatorre (D); Bannai (R); Bergeson (R); Harris (D); Johnson (R); Levine (D); Roos (D).
Consultant, Michael Ullman, 445-3268.

Education (8D, 5R):
Chairman Greene (D); Vice Chairwoman Bergeson (R); Alatorre (D); Hart (D); Hayes (R); Hughes (D); Lehman (D); Leonard (R); Mangers (D); Mountjoy (R); Rogers (R); Tanner (D); Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant, James Murdoch, 445-7807.

Elections and Reapportionment (6D, 3R):
Chairwoman Ryan (R); Vice Chairman Naylor (R); Chacon (D); Deddeh (D); Hart (D); Johnson (R); Robinson (D); Thurman (D); Vicencia (D).
Consultant, Manuel Hernandez, 445-8430.

Finance, Insurance and Commerce (8D, 5R):
Chairman McAlister (D); Vice Chairman Young (D); Agnos (D); Bannai (R); Bosco (D); Calvo (D); Ellis (R); Hayden (R); Lancaster (R); Nestande (R); Papan (D); Roos (D); Vicencia (D).
Consultants, Carl Brakensiek, Bill George, Richard Mason, 445-9160

Governmental Organization (7D, 4R):
Chairman Vicencia (D); Vice Chairman Lehman (D); Agnos (D); Bane (D); Chappie (R); Gage (D); Greene (D); Lancaster (R); Priolo (R); Statham (R); Wray (D).
Consultant, Parke Terry, 445-7486.

Health (8D, 5R):
Chairman Torres (D); Vice Chairwoman Moorhead (R); Agnos (D); Bates (D); Duffy (R); Egeland (D); Felando (R); Ivers (R); Mangers (D); Nolan (R); Rosenthal (D); Tucker (D); Maxine Waters (D).
Consultant, Paul Press, 445-1770.

Housing and Community Development (6D, 3R):
Chairwoman Hughes (D); Vice Chairman Roos (D); Bates (D); Dennis Brown (R); Costa (D); Elder (D); Frazee (R); Moore (D); Mountjoy (R).
Consultant, Renée Franken, 445-2320.

Human Resources (5D, 3R):
Chairman Alatorre (D); Vice Chairman Nolan (R); Bosco (D); Cline (R); Costa (D); Leonard (R); Lockyer (D); Moore (D).
Consultant, Masako Dolan, 445-0664.

Judiciary (8D, 5R):
Chairman Fenton (D); Vice Chairman Imbrecht (R); Berman (D); Willie Brown (D); Hayden (R); Ingalls (D); McAlister (D); McVittie (D); Moorhead (R); Nolan (R); Stirling (R); Torres (D); Maxine Waters (D).
Consultant, Rubin Lopez, 445-4560.

Labor, Employment and Consumer Affairs (8D, 5R):
Chairman Lockyer (D); Vice Chairwoman Tanner (D); Elder (D); Ellis (R); Felando (R); Fenton (D); Harris (D); Hayes (R); McAlister (D); Stirling (R); Maxine Waters (D); Wyman (R); Young (D).
Consultant, Britton McFetridge, 445-2657.

Local Government (6D, 3R):
Chairman Chappie (R); Vice Chairman Frazee (R); Knox (D); Mello (D); Perino (D); Ryan (R); Tanner (D); Thurman (D); Norman Waters (D).
Consultant, Julie Nauman, 445-6034.

Public Employees and Retirement (6D, 3R):
Chairman Tucker (D); Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Chacon (D); Cline (R); Deddeh (D); Goggin (D); Mori (D); Perino (D); Tucker (D); Wyman (R).
Consultants, Dave Cox, Gil Oster, 322-4320.

Resources, Land Use and Energy (8D, 5R):
Chairman Calvo (D); Vice Chairman Filante (R); Bates (D); Bergeson (R); Goggin (D); Hannigan (D); Kapiloff (D); Levine (D); Mello (D); Mountjoy (R); Naylor (R); Rogers (R); Rosenthal (D).
Consultant, Tom Willoughby, 445-9367.

Revenue and Taxation (8D, 5R):
Chairman Deddeh (D); Vice Chairman Hannigan (D); Dennis Brown (R); Filante (R); Gage (D); Imbrecht (R); Kapiloff (D); Lockyer (D); Moore (D); Mori (D); Naylor (R); Nestande (R); Vicencia (D).
Consultant, Dave Doerr, 332-3730.

Rules (4D, 3R):
Chairman Papan (D); Vice Chairman Lancaster (R); Bannai (R); Cline (R); Gage (D); Mangers (D); Rosenthal (D).
Chief administrative officer, Fred Taugher, 445-2995.

Transportation (8D, 5R):
Chairman Ingalls (D); Vice Chairman Harris (D); Calvo (D); Deddeh (D); Elder (D); Felando (R); Frazee (R); Ivers (R); Kelley (R); Papan (D); Tucker (D); Wray (D); Wyman (R).
Consultant, D. J. Smith, 445-7278.

Water, Parks and Wildlife (6D, 3R):
Chairman Kapiloff (D); Vice Chairman Kelley (R); Berman (D); Boatwright (D); Filante (R); Lehman (D); Mello (D); Perino (D); Rogers (R).
Consultant, Clyde Macdonald, 445-6164.

Ways and Means (13D, 8R):
Chairman Boatwright (D); Vice Chairman Duffy (R); Berman (D); Chacon (D); Egeland (D); Ellis (R); Goggin (D); Hart (D); Hayden (R); Imbrecht (R); Knox (D); Leonard (R); Levine (D); Mori (D); Roos (D); Ryan (R); Statham (R); Stirling (R); Vasconcellos (D); Norman Waters (D); Young (D).
Consultant, Krist Lane, 445-7082.

Assembly committee schedule

	Room	
Monday		
Criminal justice	2117	1:30 p.m.
Health	2133	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and taxation	4202	1:30 p.m.
Rules	A107	4:00 p.m.
Tuesday		
Ways and means (budget)	4202	9:00 a.m.
Transportation	2170	9:00 a.m.
Human resources	2133	9:00 a.m.*
Resources, land use and energy	2170	1:30 p.m.
Labor, employment and consumer affairs	2133	1:30 p.m.*
Governmental organization	6031	1:30 p.m.**
Wednesday		
Finance, insurance and commerce	4202	9:00 a.m.
Local government	2133	9:00 a.m.*
Water, parks and wildlife	2117	9:00 a.m.**
Housing and community development	2133	9:00 a.m.**
Education	4202	1:30 p.m.
Judiciary	2170	1:30 p.m.
Elections and reapportionment	6028	3:30 p.m.*
Agriculture	6031	3:30 p.m.**
Public employees and retirement	2117	3:30 p.m.**
Thursday		
Ways and means	4202	9:00 a.m.

Committees meet every week except as indicated.
*Meets first and third weeks of month.
**Meets second and fourth weeks of month.

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Keeping track of legislation

Keeping track of the thousands of bills that are introduced in the Senate and Assembly every year is a difficult job, even for well-staffed professional lobbies. To do so, they rely heavily on six official legislative guides that are published daily during the session: the Assembly and Senate *Daily Files, Journals,* and *Histories.* Single copies of these publications are available free (as are single copies of bills) from the Legislative Bill Room. Also available there, at nominal cost, is a useful and concise reference, *California's Legislature,* by James D. Driscoll, Chief Clerk of the Assembly, from which the following descriptions of the legislative publications are drawn:

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken up on the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of all bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing, unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily File* provides an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of that chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the governor and the other house, committee reports, motions, and acknowledgment of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal,* but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal.*

The History. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History,* published at the end of the week, summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date on which it was taken. The *Weekly History* also carries the names of each house's membership, committee assignments and the schedule of meetings.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing which sections of the Constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

Other publications

Once the Legislature adjourns, the *Daily Journals* are corrected, reprinted, and deposited with the secretary of state as a permanent record of each day's proceedings. Each house also publishes a *Final History,* summarizing all legislation introduced and acted upon during the session. This history is indexed and shows which sections of law are affected by the legislation enacted, and whether the changes involved deletions, additions, removals, or renumbering.

Other key legislative bodies

Joint Legislative Audit Committee
Thomas Hayes, Auditor General, 925 L St., Suite 750, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-0255.

Legislative Analyst
William G. Hamm, 925 L St., Suite 650, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-4656.

Legislative Counsel
Bion Gregory, 3021 State Capitol; (916) 445-2781; 107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012; (213) 620-2550.

USEFUL CAPITOL NUMBERS (Area Code 916)

Information	322-9900
Secretary of Senate	445-4251
Chief Clerk of Assembly	445-3614
Bill Room	445-2323
Senate Research	445-1727
Assembly Research	445-1638
Archives	445-4293
Auditor General	445-0255
Legislative Analyst	445-4656
Legislative Counsel	445-2781
State Police	445-1150

Types of legislation

- **Bills** propose changes in or additions to state law. Depending upon the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 152).
- **Constitutional Amendments,** also called "bills", actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot. They are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.
- **Concurrent Resolutions** are used to adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent, and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs or SCRs.
- **Joint Resolutions** express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government, and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.
- **House and Senate Resolutions** express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees, or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal,* and they take effect on their adoption.

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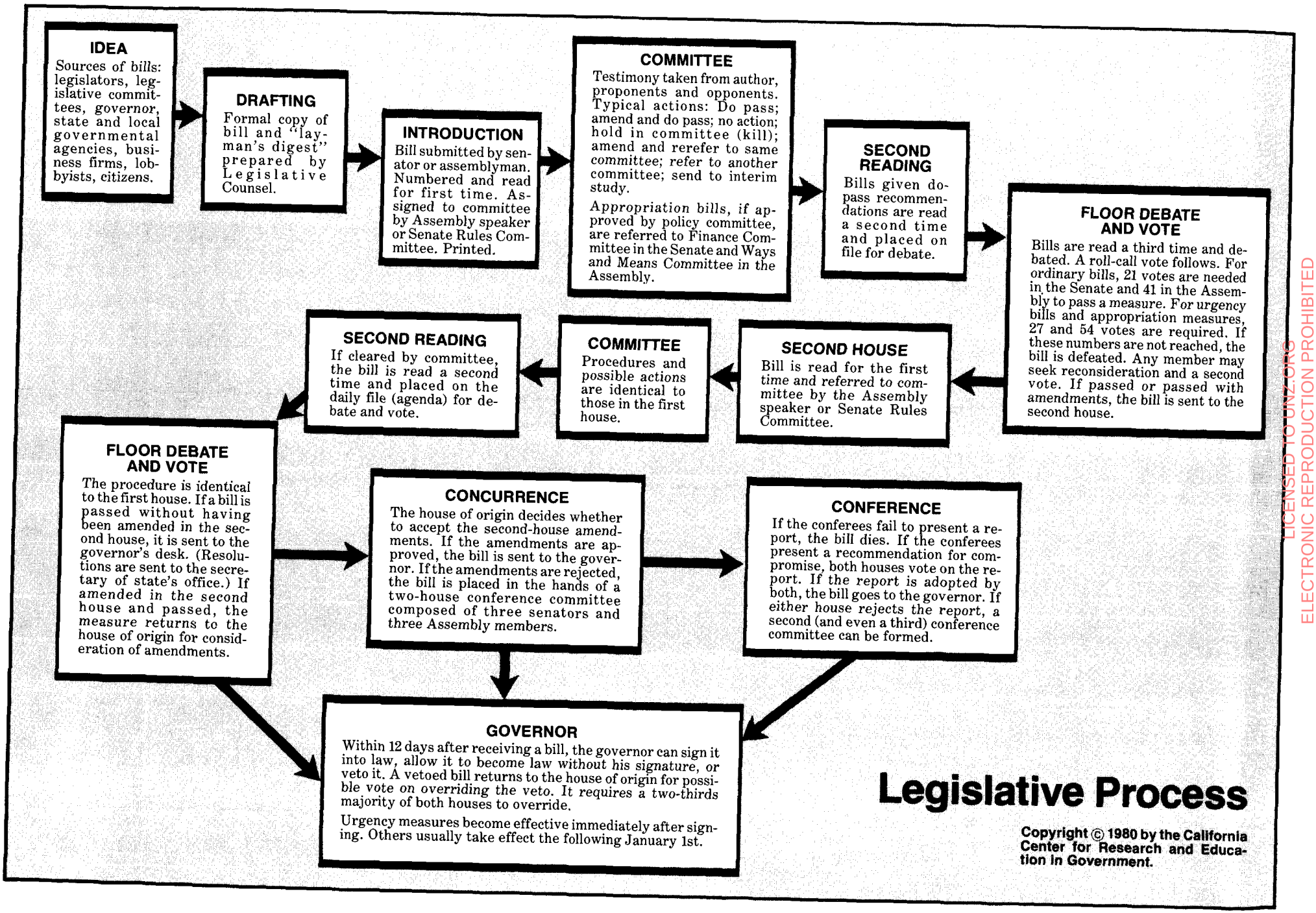
IDEA
Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.
DRAFTING
Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.
INTRODUCTION
Bill submitted by senator or assemblyman. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly speaker or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.
COMMITTEE
Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and rerefer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.
Appropriation bills, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Finance Committee in the Senate and Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.
SECOND READING
Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.
FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly to pass a measure. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.
SECOND HOUSE
Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly speaker or Senate Rules Committee.
COMMITTEE
Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.
SECOND READING
If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.
FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.
CONCURRENCE
The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.
CONFERENCE
If the conferees fail to present a report, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise, both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.
GOVERNOR
Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature, or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.
Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.
Legislative Process
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AB 699 and the cable TV revolution in California

By Marsha Temple

After three decades of playing a country-cousin role in the communications world, cable television finally seems destined for stardom. The 1980s look promising for an industry which has fought, with little past success, to realize its potential. Major breakthroughs have come in the past three years, during which cable promoters have beaten the commercial networks, the motion picture studios and the Federal Communications Commission, both in the courts and in Congress.

And the most congenial climate for cable TV probably lies in California, with its huge leisure-oriented population and 284 cable systems already serving 1.8 million subscribers. That climate was created in state legislation passed last year (AB 699) a law which encourages new cable investment and also promotes public access to the expanded services. San Diego Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin, who is chairman of the House communications subcommittee, praises AB 699 as "the best law (on cable television) on the books anywhere."

But all of cable TV's battles are not over. Indeed, some of the biggest ones lie ahead, against a major competitor: the telephone companies. Ninety-three percent of the utility poles supporting TV cables in California are owned by telephone companies, and a dispute over pole-rental fees already is before the state Public Utilities Commission. Even more significant will be the eventual competition between cable interests and the telephone industry for control of the 21st century's major communications system — two-way television.

Incentive to serve

With federal regulation of their operations virtually eliminated (see box), cable companies now must deal with a nationwide hodgepodge of regulation on a town-by-town basis. The situation in California is much better than in most states because of the Legislature's passage last year of AB 699 by Assemblyman Bruce Young of Norwalk. Here are the main features of the state's new cable TV law:

- *Owners of cable systems may choose whether or not to operate under AB 699. If they refuse, they continue to serve under existing local contracts and fee schedules. But if they accept the law's provisions, their fees to customers no longer can be regulated by the city or town it serves.*

Rate deregulation is important to cable operators because it allows them to offer new services without getting permission from local government to charge for them. The decision whether to offer new services then becomes economic rather than political.

- *To qualify for California's brand of cable deregulation, systems must, among other things, be able to receive television programming from satellite and to provide subscribers with more than 12 channels of viewing options.*

About half of the cable systems in California are older systems that were built with only 12-channel capacity. For those systems, rate deregulation is a financial incentive to modernize. The theory is that — once the uncertainty of government approval or disapproval is removed — lending institutions will be more likely to extend funds for expansion. When he signed AB 699, Governor Brown said, "It is expected that such expansion will translate into a capital investment of more than a quarter of a billion dollars and provide thousands of new jobs."

- *In addition to requirements for modernization, cable systems qualifying for rate deregulation must set aside a channel (or channels) for use by local governments, schools and the general public. They must also contribute 50 cents per subscriber to a newly created foundation to promote public-access television.*

Public-access television is an issue that has plagued policymakers at least since the Vietnam War. Groups with a message, realizing that television is the most potent method to deliver it, have fought for several years for access to the "public awareness." The Supreme Court rejected a right-of-access case in 1972, and it recently struck down FCC regulations that imposed public-access requirements on cable television systems. But California's new cable law makes public access possible if enough cable operators voluntarily choose the California cable plan, provide the access channels and donate enough money to develop programs.

If the plan works, J. Anthony Kline, Governor Brown's legal affairs adviser, can take much of the credit. Before joining Brown's staff, Kline spent nearly 10 years as a public-interest attorney. He became involved with battles for

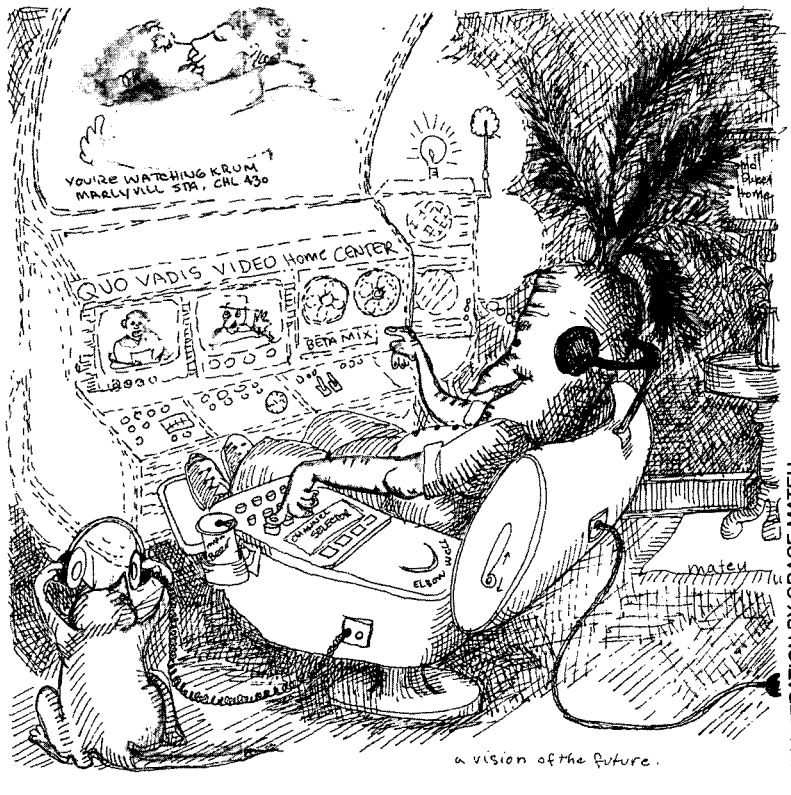

ILLUSTRATION BY GRACE MATELI

Marsha Temple is a free-lance writer in Los Angeles.

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television access on behalf of issue-oriented citizen groups. Those battles brought him in contact with cable television, and for years he's been telling Jerry Brown about the public-interest possibilities of cable.

Last year, when a cable TV bill by Senator Alfred Alquist sailed through both houses, Kline advised Brown to veto it, which the Governor did. Kline promised the cable operators that the next deregulation bill would meet the same fate unless they were willing to negotiate some provision for public access.

The industry agreed and hired attorney Monroe Price, an expert on cable television with a public-interest, public-access background of his own. Price drew up a compromise plan that gives cable operators rate deregulation as an incentive to maintain public-access channels. The bill passed both houses unanimously.

Getting the industry to provide the channels is only half of the access battle, however. People must come forward to use them. "People have to be educated about public access," says Kline. "The paradox is that the people with a message are intimidated by video technology and the 'video freaks' that are fascinated with the technology don't have anything to say."

Attorney Price, author of the new law, is also president of the newly created foundation to promote public access. Price is not sure how the foundation will spend money; for him, the bigger question is how much the foundation will raise. The foundation's revenue is tied to the number of subscribers of participating cable systems, and no one can say how many cable systems will opt for rate deregulation under AB 699. Another uncertainty is how committed the industry will be toward promoting public access.

Some cable companies are wary of deregulating under 699. They fear that they might rebuild, provide the access channels and other qualifying services and then — for some reason or through some new interpretation of the law — be unable to follow through. Such a cable operator could be sued by a subscriber for refund of a rate increase because of failure to provide the promised services.

"That scenario is the best enforcement mechanism I've ever heard," says Kline. But at least one cable operator considers that scenario unlikely. Neil McHugh, an executive with Viacom cable company, maintains that cable operators won't risk failing to live up to the provisions of a legal requirement, subjecting themselves to legal remedies. Furthermore, he says, "all of the other franchise terms (besides rates) are still enforced by the cities. Cable exists in a political as well as an economic marketplace. It just wouldn't be good politics to make promises and then not fulfill them."

A new gold rush

Most cable promoters are enthusiastic, not cautious. They are engaged in fierce battles for territory, in what is beginning to look like a telecommunications gold rush. With cable revenues soaring, the scramble for remaining franchises is ferocious. Having been kept out of the metropolitan media markets in the past by shaky economic climates, limited consumer acceptance and restrictive federal policies, cable operators are now hungry to lay cable and sign up subscribers in the state's big cities.

From the earliest days of the developing technology, when the cable phenomenon was centered in the small towns that could not otherwise receive television signals, local governments have been the gatekeepers of cable's entry into new markets. Usually, the city council or county government has had no objections to cable, especially since the local government could charge a percentage of the operation's yearly revenue as a franchise fee. Franchises are granted for specific terms; 15 years is typical.

Since building a cable system is costly, it is considered a

natural economic monopoly. Like the phone company, there will be only one cable company in most towns or cities. So franchise proceedings have taken on a new urgency. The stakes are higher in the big metropolitan areas, where systems are more expensive to build but bigger profits are the prize. The competition intensifies as more and more franchises are assigned and there are fewer to go around.

In each town, the cable companies meet a different set of bewildered bureaucrats who have varying degrees of knowledge about telecommunications policy planning. Even in some major cities, like Los Angeles, the bureaucrats are surprisingly naive. According to LA City Councilman Bob Ronka, LA officials are trying "to manage Star Wars industries with Stone Age methods." Ron Hale, the Los Angeles official who makes franchise recommendations to the City Council, explains: "There hasn't been much enthusiasm for cable television here."

By contrast, the cable companies are eager and aggressive. Storer Cable TV executive Jerry Proctor says that in fierce contests, cable operators will promise just about anything to win a franchise. Dave Schultz of Tele-Communications Incorporated (TCI) admits that cable companies sometimes start to believe the inflated promises they make in the heat of franchise fights. So how does a city know which cable company to believe?

Many cities hire the services of experienced communications consultants, often paid for by the cable companies' application fees. This procedure at least holds out the hope of objectivity in franchise contests. But all towns hold competitive franchise proceedings. For instance, Los Angeles recently ceded the heart of the city — from Venice beach through Hollywood to the Civic Center — to a newly formed company, Six Star Cablevision. There were no competitive bids.

The great franchising race may be a brief episode in the development of cable since, in two or three years, all of the big city franchises will undoubtedly be assigned. Yet California cable lawyers don't see the battles ending there. There may be others at franchise renewal time. One California cable company lost its franchise at the end of 15 years of poor service, even though it had millions of dollars of "physi-

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David and Goliaths at the FCC

To understand why cable promoters are so optimistic about their industry's future requires some understanding of its David-and-Goliath problems of the past. There have been powerful forces opposing expansion of cable TV — all of them convinced that they would lose millions of dollars if the cable industry were allowed to grow. These forces — the commercial networks, major studios and entertainment industry — have had valuable support in past decisions of the Federal Communications Commission. But Congress and recent court cases have changed the odds considerably. Here are some of the issues involved:

• **Syndication.** In television program production and distribution, the big money is in syndication. Sale to a network merely pays for the cost of a major TV production. Profits come from syndication sales to local stations after the network sale — and such profits are often substantial. They go, for the most part, to the biggest moneymakers: the studios.

Syndication is what the studios fought so hard to maintain, in Congress, the courts and the FCC. But after 20 years of litigation and lobbying, they have lost on nearly all fronts. Yet the motion picture industry is not likely to give up; there is too much money at stake. Studios may even find that while cable technology shatters the old system, it creates a whole new mechanism for distribution of programming — meaning more audience, more programs and more money. The big difference is that nobody, yet, has a lock on the new system.

• **Federal regulation.** Cable began in the '50s in small towns, outside of the urban med a markets that were designated by the FCC. In the hilly outbacks, where reception of local TV signals was weak, cable companies erected huge antennae to capture the broadcast signals of the nearest station and to bring them by wire to the TV sets of otherwise-stranded viewers. Thus, early cable operations were welcomed by stations and networks alike, because new cable customers meant expanded audiences for local broadcasters and for the metropolitan-based networks.

The trouble started when the cable operators found that they could also import signals from distant stations. The small local broadcasters, thus threatened with outside competition, convinced the FCC that they would be driven out of business; they warned of the demise of "free TV." In response, the FCC embarked on a course of regulation that slowed the development of cable TV for years, by limiting the number of programs that cable operators could offer their customers. The real beneficiaries, however, were the two businesses that had the most to lose from cable competition: the networks and major movie studios. They were determined to keep cable out of metropolitan media markets.

Later the FCC adopted rules forbidding cable operators from showing recently released movies or sports on special, pay-cable channels. But during the Nixon Administration, the networks began to lose ground at the FCC, which then saw competition from cable as a possible restraint on the massive power of the networks. By the early '70s, the FCC said it wanted both cable and "free TV." Yet its 1972 cable regulations included copyright-like rules that still protected the studios' syndication rights. And the regulations actually reduced the number of distant signals which could be imported by cable operators in some metropolitan markets.

• **Congress and the courts.** While the cable industry was losing many of its regulatory battles at the FCC, it was faring better in the Capitol and the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1968, the Supreme Court ruled that the Copyright Act of 1909 was not violated by retransmission by cable. In 1972 the court ruled a second time that retransmission did not violate the copyrights of the studios or broadcasters. This decision gave the cable industry a tremendous advantage in the subsequent congressional battle over the Copyright Act of 1976, which reflects a sort of truce between the cable and movie industries. The agreement, signed by the trade associations of both industries, was very favorable to cable. The new law provides that cable operators will pay a small percentage of their gross revenues to a Copyright Royalty Tribunal, which then allocates the funds to compensate the studios for retransmission of their shows. The payment formula is based on a cable system's ability to pay, as opposed to a per-program charge. This scheme gives the cable industry unlimited use of broadcast signals at a cost each system can afford. It also gives studios their first compensation from cable companies.

Then came the most important decision for cable: *Home Box Office v. FCC*, which canceled the FCC's restrictions on pay cable. That decision coincided with the emergence of satellite technology for distribution of television programming. This combination of law and technology has produced the potential for a telecommunications revolution. Now cable operators can fill their 20 to 50 channels with special programming tailored to special interests: black, Spanish-speaking, disco-dancing or Legislature-watching audiences. Armed with new viewing options, cable is ready for an assault on the major TV markets.

The *Home Box Office* decision was just the beginning of judicial criticism of the FCC's past handling of cable. Last summer, the court struck down other restrictive requirements passed by the FCC in 1972. Recently the District of Columbia Court of Appeals told the FCC that it did not have jurisdiction to pass copyright laws and sent its 1972 restrictions back to the commission for reappraisal.

But the most serious criticism of the FCC is coming from Congress, where the opposing interests have been fighting over the rewrite of the Communication Act of 1934. During that process last summer in Congressman Van Deerlin's communications subcommittee, the cable forces defeated a broadcaster-studio proposal which would have killed cable's court-won copyright victory. To beat back the entertainment-industry proposal, the cable promoters signed an agreement with telephone companies, promising to concentrate its development on entertainment, especially in the metropolitan markets. Thus the phone companies will be able to compete with cable systems in a future head-to-head contest for the development of two-way television. *M.T.*

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cal plant" in the ground. This is why cable companies must maintain good relations with local governments and cultivate support from community groups by encouraging use of their access channels. When new franchises are scarce, hungry competitors are likely to challenge existing franchises that are up for renewal.

Renting the poles

Of immediate concern to all California cable operators is the current dispute over rates that the pole-owning utility and phone companies can charge. The dispute is before the Public Utilities Commission (PUC), since a 1975 law gave the PUC jurisdiction to settle disputes between the pole owners and the cable companies. The PUC recently ruled that, after 35 years of charging cable companies an annual pole rental fee of $2 per pole, the utility companies can raise pole rental rates to $12 per pole. The PUC estimates that the effect of its ruling will add a dollar each month to the cost of cable to each subscriber. Cable companies are determined to keep their rates down to attract new subscribers. Low rates are especially important to cable companies in urban markets where they must compete with the viewers' own roof-top antennae, as well as subscription TV, for the consumers' entertainment dollars.

The PUC ruling was an interim order issued by an administrative law judge. If it is not reversed by the full commission, it will undoubtedly be challenged in the courts. Assemblyman Young has promised the cable industry new legislation that would guarantee it free access to utility poles. Young's position is that the utility companies have already charged their consumers for the cost of the pole, so that charging cable companies a pole rental fee is "double-dipping." And Kline promises Governor Brown's support for legislation that would reverse the PUC's ruling which he maintains, "has a devastating effect on an industry that we want to encourage."

Cable's second confrontation with the phone companies will determine whether the cable industry or the phone companies will bring two-way television into American homes.

While cable companies are reaping the rewards of their victory in the entertainment field, telephone companies are eagerly seeking ways to increase their profits. The average person uses the telephone about 20 minutes a day, while in the average American home, the television is on between eight and 12 hours a day. Cable companies now reach less than 30 percent of the television households in the nation; the telephone companies reach nearly all of them. For the phone companies to expand, they must expand the services they can offer on the wires that already are in place. On existing phone wires, subfrequency data impulses can travel along with the impulses that translate into voices, without degrading the voice signal. Although video impulse patterns are too broad to be sent over existing phone lines, the lines offer the basic model for many of the services known as two-way television, and it's looking very good to the phone companies.

The city of Pasadena has adopted an ordinance establishing a program that uses telephone lines to carry impulses from home smoke detectors to the city's fire department. The same program could technically be accomplished with television cable — but nearly every home has a telephone while cable TV has not yet penetrated much of Pasadena.

Elsewhere in the state, Pacific Telephone is experimenting with transmission of video signals through Picturephone Meeting Service (PMS) systems. This service cannot be offered on existing telephone lines into homes but Pacific is investing in some specialized equipment for model systems. There is also great potential for two-way service to senior citizens, shoppers, newspaper subscribers and poll takers. TV sets someday may even provide burglar alarms, computer readouts and energy management through peak-load controls.

So while the cable companies are heady with their recent political and financial triumphs in the entertainment field, they may one day wake up to find the market for new, innovative services solidly held by the phone companies.

But for now, the cable industry is busy expanding its entertainment horizons. As energy shortages reduce opportunities for travel, viewers will probably become even more dependent on television for leisure time diversion. And after years of frustration, cable promoters are eager to enjoy a bigger piece of the TV action.

1980 Initiative Index

The following is a summary of significant initiative measures that have been circulating to qualify for the 1980 elections:

Subject	Sponsor	Description	Status
Income taxes	Howard Jarvis	Cuts state income tax in half.	Qualified for June ballot.
Rent control	Building-trade unions, developers, real-estate brokers, apartment owners	Bans statewide rent control; requires voter approval for local rent-control ordinances.	Qualified for June ballot.
Oil profits tax	Bill Press	Imposes 10 percent state tax on oil-company profits.	May qualify for June ballot.
Republican primary	State Senator John Schmitz	Eliminates winner-take-all feature of GOP presidential primary.	May qualify for June ballot.
Environmental protection	Peter Behr, David Brower	Enacts environmental bill of rights.	Contender for November ballot.
Fire and police services	Hal Meagher	Prevents cut in police, fire and ambulance services	Contender for November ballot.
Tax simplicity	California Tax Reform Association	Redistributes income-tax burden, boosts corporate taxes	Contender for November ballot.
Smoking restrictions	Dr. Raymond Weisberg	Limits smoking in public places.	Contender for November ballot.
Educational vouchers	John Coons, Steve Sugarman	Institutes voucher system for financing public and some private schools	Failed to obtain sufficient signatures.

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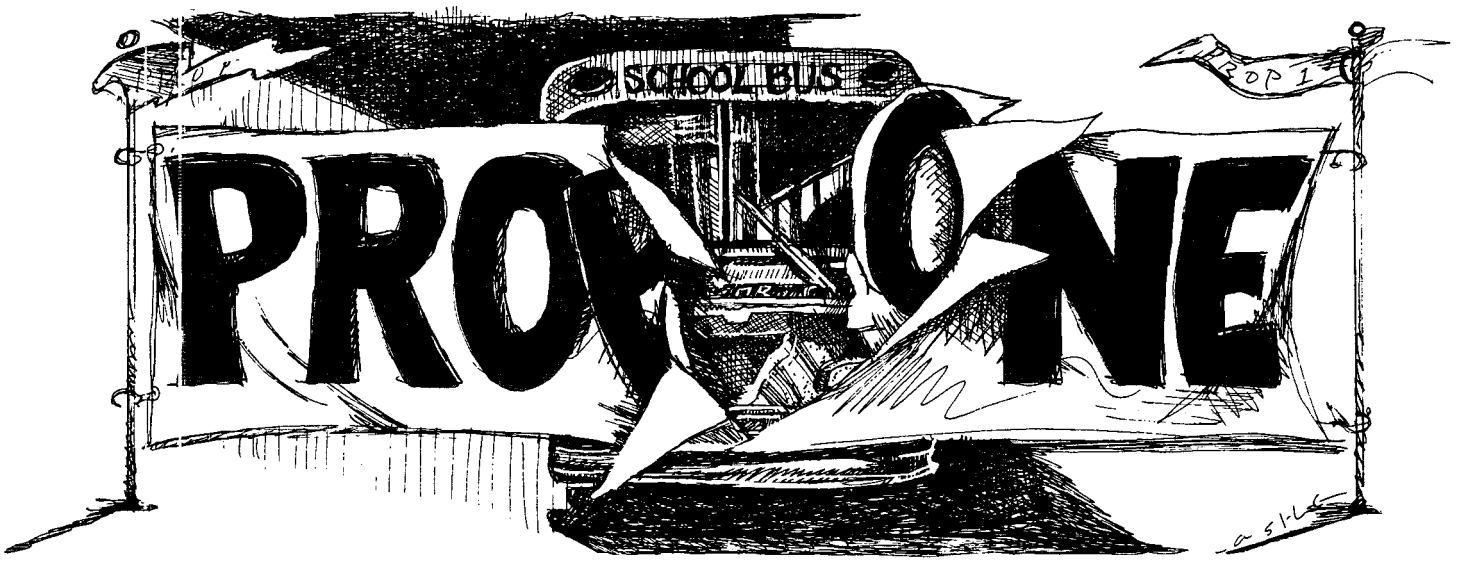

THE RETURN OF SERRANO

Why Proposition 1 didn't stop school busing

By MAUREEN FITZGERALD

Public schools in California enter the 1980s in a state of near-chaos. The voters have tried to curb busing in Los Angeles, but nothing has happened. Although the proposed voucher initiative failed to qualify for the ballot, the campaign succeeded in drawing attention to public dissatisfaction with the current educational system. The *Serrano* school-finance case has been reopened, challenging the allocation of state funds to local school districts. On top of these problems, there looms the possibility that California voters this June will enact the new Jarvis II initiative, cutting income-tax revenues in half and putting the squeeze on all governmental units in the state. (See box on page 80 for a report on pending initiatives.)

California voters approved the anti-busing measure by a 2-1 margin in a special state election last November. The goal of Senator Alan Robbins, sponsor of the measure, was to halt busing in Los Angeles by changing the legal rules of the integration game. Despite the overwhelming vote, not a single bus has been braked in any school district because of the enactment of Proposition 1.

The first challenge

The measure requires state courts to use federal standards in busing cases, rather than the supposedly more liberal rules of the state Supreme Court. Before the initiative was passed, the California standard called for school integration whether the segregation was intentional *(de jure)* or the result of housing patterns in a community *(de facto)*. Before any busing stops, however, the courts must decide two fundamental issues: Was Proposition 1 constitutional? What is the current federal standard?

Within days after the November election, a white Sacramento parent filed a suit charging that the measure is unconstitutional because it deprives his children of an integrated educational experience. Superior Court Judge Irving Perluss dismissed the case because it was not filed in a county with a court-ordered desegregation plan. There are now 13 districts with such plans, none of them in Sacramento County.

This means that the battleground on the constitutionality issue will probably be San Bernardino or Los Angeles. In San Bernardino, the court has been supervising a voluntary busing program. But there are indications that mandatory busing may be ordered this fall. Should that happen, the school board will try to invoke Proposition 1, and there will be a relatively clean test of the issue. In Los Angeles, the situation is much more complex. The school district is under a 1976 desegregation mandate from the state Supreme Court. Busing of grades 4-8 began in the fall of 1978. Hearings are now underway before Superior Court Judge Paul Egly on the issue of whether the plan should cover all grades, kindergarten through 12th. The Los Angeles board of education has been pushing for an all-voluntary approach, and there would be no test of Proposition 1 if the court should go along with the trustees. Should Egly order expanded busing, the board of education would invoke Proposition 1 and ask that the order be lifted.

Egly has already indicated that an all-voluntary program would probably not be constitutional. A 118-page brief has already been filed in his court by the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP and the Center for Law and Justice charging that Proposition 1 is unconstitutional because it is intended to restrict the rights of minorities and limit remedies for desegregation.

Maureen Fitzgerald is the director of a "Citizen Democracy" research project being conducted by the Journal *with the assistance of a grant from the Ford Foundation.*

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It could be many months before the higher courts decide the issue of constitutionality. But even if the proposition is upheld, it is not clear how much busing would come to an end. In Los Angeles, critics of busing contend that it has caused "white flight" and that there are not enough Anglos left to desegregate the city district. White enrollment is now down to 27 percent, compared to 42 percent for Hispanics. The real fear of those opposed to busing is that Judge Egly will order metropolitan busing across district lines so that city minorities and suburban Anglos can be brought into the same educational environment.

The state Supreme Court has already ruled that busing across district lines can be required. That decision was handed down in a case known as *Tinsley v. California*, brought by parents in a heavily black district near Palo Alto to force integration with surrounding districts. A Superior Court trial is now pending in that case.

At the time Proposition 1 was drafted, federal court decisions called for busing only in cases of intentional or *de jure* segregation. (California courts have mandated busing regardless of the cause of segregation.) Since that time, the United States Supreme Court has moved the federal standard close to that adopted by California in a pair of Ohio cases. Should the state courts find that there is no longer any difference between the standards, Proposition 1 will have been an exercise in futility for anti-busing forces.

Senator Robbins is also concerned about another legal problem involving the burden of proof. Under current federal law, it appears that school boards must prove that they have not deliberately produced segregated schools. Under a bill Robbins is trying to work through the Legislature (SB 1244), a plaintiff would have to prove specific and deliberate acts of segregation. There is some question of constitutionality about the bill, which would result in the state courts using federal standards for the basic law in busing cases but rejecting federal procedure regarding proof in the same cases.

Fighting vouchers

Some of the same organizations that are fighting implementation of Proposition 1 among them are the ACLU and the NAACP, also spoke out against the attempt to qualify a voucher initiative for the ballot this year. These organizations fear that the middle class would use vouchers as an additional means of deserting the central-city public school systems.

The Coons-Sugarman voucher proposal was one of three education initiatives that failed to qualify for the ballot. (One would have abolished the public schools and would have given each student $2,000 a year for educational expenses. The other, sponsored by the National Taxpayers Union, would have provided state income-tax credits for educational expenses.) The state educational establishment was especially concerned about the Coons-Sugarman plan, called "Family Choice in Education." Parents would be given vouchers each year to redeem at public or participating private schools. The theme of the campaign was that the present system is not working and that a shakeup is needed.

The measure was sponsored by John Coons and Steve Sugarman, two Berkeley law professors. State Superintendent of Schools Wilson Riles, teacher organizations and virtually the entire school establishment opposed the measure but kept its campaign profile low, under the theory that any attention given the voucher campaign would help the drive for signatures. Coons and Sugarman were able to raise only about $20,000, and their grass roots campaign never moved into high gear. They claim they will be back with another campaign, supported with more money and improved political skills.

Meanwhile, the present method of financing the public schools is under attack from a familiar quarter: John McDermott of the Western Center of Law and Poverty, the organization that developed the original *Serrano* case. *Serrano* successfully challenged the California system of apportioning educational dollars. Now McDermott has filed another suit asking the courts to throw out the present state apportionments on the grounds that they still do not meet the mandates of the *Serrano* decision. State data shows that about half the state's 4 million school children will be within $100 of each other in public support this fall, while disparities as high as $1,000 will remain for the other half.

Superintendent Riles argues that the *Serrano* case must now be considered in a new light because of the passage of Proposition 13 and because of steps taken by the Legislature to reduce inequalities in the educational-finance system. At the time *Serrano* was handed down, there were significant differences between tax rates from community to community. Now, everyone pays at roughly the same tax rate, and much more of the school burden is carried by the state.

Bucking Robin Hood

McDermott argues that the basic problem is unchanged — that children in some districts still get much richer educational programs than others. State funds now are being used to provide the imbalance, he adds, and the Legislature has appropriated millions of dollars for programs that are not required by *Serrano* while ignoring the letter of the court mandate.

The Legislature has reponded to *Serrano* by giving larger increases in funds to low-spending districts and smaller percentage hikes to so-called rich districts. Under this approach, 93 percent of all students would be within $100 by 1983-84. The school establishment opposes a Robin Hood plan, taking dollars away from rich and giving them to poor districts. Among the questions the McDermott case poses for the court:

Has the Legislature moved fast enough? (The court sought compliance by 1980, and it will be 1983 before the state gets close to the guidelines set down by the decision.) Does the *Serrano* case amount to a court mandate, thus making educational funding exempt from Proposition 4? (If not, current disparities may be locked into place.) What effect does Proposition 13 have on the *Serrano* decision? This can be argued two ways: that the case is now moot because of equalization of tax rates, or that it applies more than ever because of the greater state burden.) Should the court consider the role of special-education programs? (These were exempt under the original decision and they now amount to $1.3 billion a year.) Are there legitimate differences in the cost of schooling, depending on location and size of the district? (City districts claim they must spend more to get less than suburban districts.)

The courts will be dealing with the busing and *Serrano* issues at about the time another major problem may hit the state's public schools — the income-tax initiative sponsored by Howard Jarvis. If the voters approve Jarvis II this June, much less money will be available for state and local government. The *Serrano* issue of 1980 may be how reductions rather than increases in school funding should be distributed. At present, about 35 percent of the state's $19 billion budget goes for elementary and secondary schools. Jarvis II threatens to cut some $5 billion from the total budget.

In addition to Jarvis II, another initiative on the horizon could hurt schools. Firefighters are sponsoring an initiative for the November ballot which would prevent any cutbacks in allocations for police, fire and ambulance services. With teacher strikes, the busing issues and Jarvis II, the schools have enough problems without going to the mat with police officers and firefighters to fight over the shrinking public dollar in California.

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Is California producing an oversupply of doctors?

By Norma Peterson

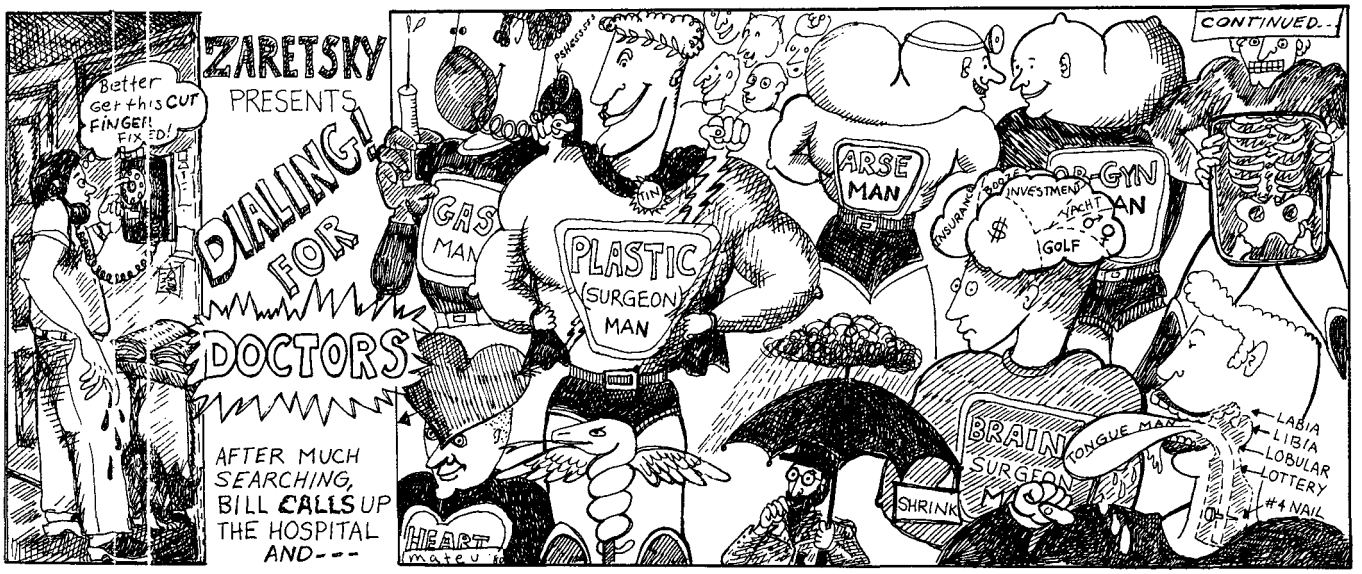

ILLUSTRATION BY GRACE MATEU

Outside the walls of the state's medical schools, very few Californians have ever heard of the "Zaretsky report." But among medical educators and other physicians, the report is controversial and disturbing. If taken seriously, it could pose a threat to the profession's educational status quo.

Dr. Henry Zaretsky is director of the California Office of Statewide Health Planning and Development (OSHPD). Last year he published a position paper called "Graduate Medical Education in California" which, among other points, said that:

- **California is oversupplied with physicians** — and the excess has reached "critical dimensions" in terms of cost to taxpayers for training doctors. The state may be spending over $140 million annually to train physicians who aren't needed. And about 70 percent of all residents in California medical schools come from out of state.
- **Medical schools are turning out too many specialists** who cluster around hospitals in affluent urban areas — and too few doctors willing to enter general practice in rural areas, ghettos or barrios. Despite the numerical surplus of doctors, 50 out of the state's 58 counties are medically underserved.
- **The usual laws of supply and demand don't seem to operate** in the field of medicine. An oversupply of doctors in one area doesn't drive some of them away for "lack of business." Instead, they tend to deliver more health care at generally higher costs. The San Francisco Bay Area, for example, has the highest number of doctors-per-thousand population and also the highest health-care costs in California.

Norma Peterson is a free-lance writer in San Francisco and information officer for the West Bay Health Systems Agency.

For obvious reasons, such conclusions are unsettling to medical schools and the profession in general. The Zaretsky report has been criticized by them as weak in data, faulty in assumptions and simplistic in its recommendations for change. "We recognize that the proposals in the paper are controversial," says Zaretsky in his own defense. "But the problem is serious and costly and therefore should be brought into the arena of public discussion."

The problem's dimensions

Not all reaction has been negative. The state Postsecondary Education Commission has recently recommended against the expansion of graduate medical education until the rate on in-migration from other states drops markedly. "I think we all owe Zaretsky's office a debt of gratitude," says commission staff member Dave Grover. "They have called our attention to the causes and dimensions of the problem. No one knew there were that many residents in the state before Zaretsky's office published the Health Manpower Plan."

It was 1977 when the first manpower plan was prepared by OSHPD for the state Legislature. The original plan was updated in 1978 and again last year, when Zaretsky's position paper added special emphasis to the disparity between the oversupply of doctors and underserved areas.

Among other things, Zaretsky recommends that the graduate medical schools in the state should limit the residencies in specialties in which there are documented oversupplies of physicians. The money saved could be redirected into programs to promote the entry of new doctors into family practice, he says.

Currently, about 2,000 doctors graduate from California residency programs each year, of which 200 or fewer graduate in family practice. By contrast, in 1977 there were about

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315 graduates in psychiatry and another 45 in child psychiatry. There were more than 260 graduates in surgery and another 600-plus in internal medicine.

In response, most graduate medical school deans argue that a limit on residencies would not solve the problem of oversupply at all. "Doctors will simply move here from other states," says Allen W. Mathies, dean of the School of Medicine at the University of Southern California. Other critics of the Zaretsky paper, including the California Consumer Affairs Department, argue that educational opportunities should be open to all Californians and that reductions in residencies would unfairly restrict entry into the medical profession.

There are other key questions on which the Zaretsky report has been criticized:

• How many doctors are too many? And who decides what is an appropriate number of physicians?

"On that point there is considerable debate," says Ed Merwin, a state health manpower planner. The OSHPD used a formula compiled by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that was based on studies correlating care according to physician/patient ratios. That formula specifies that 200 physicians per 100,000 people is generally adequate to treat the population — but will not be likely to overtreat the population. By applying that formula, with adjustments for California demographics, the surplus of physicians in the various specialties and projections for the future were estimated.

There are currently about 50,000 physicians licensed and practicing in California. This represents a ratio of 225 physicians for every 100,000 people, a ratio Zaretsky's staff says "presents a potentially serious problem of oversupply." In some parts of the state, the excess is greater. In Yolo County, for example, the ratio is 266 physicians per 100,000 people. In San Francisco County, it's more extreme: 572 physicians per 100,000 people.

"You have to take into account that some of these counties are major medical centers that serve a larger population," Merwin says. "The San Francisco Bay Area, for instance, attracts patients from other states and in some instances from other countries." Nevertheless, the staff at the West Bay Health Systems Agency — the regional health planning body for San Francisco, Marin and San Mateo counties — estimates that if present increases in physician supply continue, by 1990 there will be 800 physicians per 100,000 population in San Francisco.

If physician increases continue at the present rate, there will be 277 doctors per 100,000 people by 1985 and 308 per 100,000 by 1990. The current national average is 185 physicians per 100,000 population.

There is no evidence that the health of the people is either better or worse in areas that have an oversupply of physicians. In general, however, Zaretsky's and other studies suggest that the presence of too many doctors can contribute to overtreatment. This is especially true when a significant portion of the surplus consists of highly trained specialists who perform more procedures, including surgery, that present additional medical risks.

One reason the laws of competition don't work in medicine is that physicians, and particularly certain specialty physicians, have the capacity to create the demand for their services, Zaretsky says. They do not compete with others for a finite pool of health care dollars, but they can build their practices on an expanding pool of health care expenditures.

• How costly is the oversupply?

The annual cost of providing graduate medical education may be as high as $42,000 per year per resident. If California has 3,500 excess physicians in residency, as OSHPD estimates, then the annual unnecessary costs for graduate medical education could approach $147 million.

ILLUSTRATION BY GRACE MATEU

The state health planning office also estimates that the average physician generates $9 million in health care costs over a lifetime of practice. "If California's graduate medical education programs are producing over 2,000 graduates each year who remain in practice in the state," the report says, "and if we need at most 1,350 of these, the annual excess is 650 physicians. Each year's surplus has the potential to generate $5.85 billion in unnecessary costs to California's health care system over a lifetime of practice. Annually, each year's production of excess physicians costs the system $19.5 million."

Since the bulk of financing for medical education and research comes from government sources, these costs are borne by all taxpayers. Most of California's medical schools are publicly financed, and government research grants fund much of the work that is being done in the various specialties. The hospitals in which training is given also are supported by public money through taxes and donations, in addition to direct patient care payments.

• Who is responsible for the alleged oversupply of doctors?

Critics of the Zaretsky proposal argue that it is precisely the government's intervention in medical education that has created the oversupply problem, if indeed there is a problem. "A good share of the overage — if in fact there is one — is in reponse to vigorous efforts of the government in the past decades to increase the number of physicians," says William Hamilton, associate dean for postdoctoral affairs at UC San Francisco Medical School.

But government has never specified that physician increases should be concentrated in the high-priced specialties, say Zaretsky's defenders. Since the public pays for the cost of medical education through taxes, the system should be more accountable to the public's needs, they say.

Medical educators respond that specialists of all kinds are providing a large percentage of the primary care which their patients need. Pediatricians, internists and obstetricians are major providers of general medical care, according to USC's Mathies. He cites a USC study which indicates that about one in five persons receives basic medical services from a specialist. For example, the study said about 46 per-

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cent of the patients who go to endocrinologists (hormone specialists) have their principal needs met by those specialists. For psychiatrists, the percentage is even higher: 59 percent. Even neurosurgeons were found to provide the primary medical care needs of nearly 30 percent of their patients, the USC study showed. But it did not survey the quality or cost of the primary care delivered by specialists.

• What can be done to redirect medical education emphasis to family practice and to get doctors into underserved communities?

"There are enormous things schools can do to influence the practice location of residents," says Bill Burnett, OSHPD administrator of family practice residency funding. He points to the Song-Brown Family Physician Training Program, enacted in 1973 to counteract the decline in the number of general practitioners in California. The program provides funding to California's medical schools to encourage the recruitment and training of family practice physicians and to provide incentives for family practice graduates to practice in currently underserved communities.

"The schools want the funds," Burnett says. "We write the programs according to the percentage of their graduates who stay in California and how many go into target communities. Because having a good record becomes important in keeping their funds, the schools recruit people who are likely to stay in family practice and they counsel them to influence place of practice." Schools also try to recruit students from the underserved communities, hoping that graduates will go back there to practice, Burnett says.

A number of schools have decentralized their training programs so that the residents are training in the areas that are underserved. Burnett says studies show the place of residency often influences a doctor's choice of location for practice.

Some deans and some doctors, however, are considerably less optimistic than Burnett about the future of the family practice resident. "There is tremendous pressure to specialize," says Jonathon Rodnick, a physician with UC San Francisco's Sonoma Family Practice Program. "When I was in medical school and said I wanted to go into family practice, the dean called me in and lectured me about how unhappy I'd be."

Dennis Mull, director of residency training in the Family Medicine Department at UC Irvine, says, "I'd like my residents to get as many full-color brochures from the underserved areas as they get from the hospitals in affluent places like Newport Beach and Beverly Hills. I think there have to be financial incentives.

"Considering that a family physician can not only earn more in an affluent area but will have major medical facilities and the social and cultural amenities, I think we have been successful in producing residency graduates who gravitate to underserved areas, both urban and rural," says Mull. "They are a highly selective group who have a special interest in serving people."

• Can state government redirect the emphasis of medical education?

Zaretsky proposes a three-step program: First, no increases in the number of first-year residency positions in any specialty in which there is a present or projected surplus. Second, a phased-in reduction of first-year residency positions in all specialties in which there is a current or projected surplus. And third, an increase in first-year residency positions in family practice in accordance with a plan that would increase the total number of first-year family practice residency positions to 400 within five years.

"The most effective control over the number of physicians would be through licensing and on a certificate-of-need basis per physician," Zaretsky admits. But there are legal questions about such regulation, and "we feel affecting the size of graduate medical education is a more moderate approach and will work better," he says.

Even that moderate approach is likely to be viewed with alarm by the medical profession. Its lobbying clout is well established in Sacramento, and its opposition to government interference of any kind is well known. When bills dealing with Medi-Cal reform and hospital-cost containment cannot get through the Legislature, it seems unlikely that lawmakers will venture soon into the sensitive area of doctors' supply and demand.

Newsmakers

The battle of Santa Clara

Governor Brown called a special election for May 6th to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of state Senator **Jerry Smith** of Santa Clara County to the appellate court. The runoff election will be held in conjunction with the June 3rd state primary, boosting the chances of the Democratic Party to hold the seat.

Under a reorganization plan submitted to the Legislature by Governor Brown, the state's prison and parole system would be elevated to cabinet status with former Republican state Senator **Howard Way** in charge. Way now heads the Board of Prison Terms . . . State Resources Secretary **Huey Johnson** approved a new set of pesticide regulations opposed by grower organizations . . . Secretary of State **March Fong Eu** predicted that the Libertarian Party would qualify for official status on the 1980 ballot, based on a telephone survey of county registrars of voters . . .

The 22-minute state-of-state

Governor Brown ignored the most pressing issue facing the state — the possible passage of the Jarvis II initiative — in his annual state-of-the-state message to the Legislature January 10th. The governor departed from practice by delivering a prepared speech and by talking for 22 minutes, far longer than in previous years. Here are some of the key elements in the Governor's program:

- Approval of a constitutional amendment authorizing the use of highway funds for mass transit.
- Construction of the peripheral canal around the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta to divert water to Southern California that now flows into San Francisco Bay.
- Passage of a variety of energy measures, including a study that could lead to the construction of a state-owned pipeline to move California heavy crude oil to the east.
- Elimination of barriers preventing expansion of the mobilehome industry.
- Enactment of the bond issue to finance energy-saving projects in the private sector and for the purchase of parkland and development of renewable resources.

Brown ended his speech with a call for all politicians, including himself, to "subordinate" their egos and ambitions to the common good. Observed state Treasurer Jesse Unruh: "It was the best speech he has made. It would have been better if he had ended it by saying, 'To submerge my own ego I am withdrawing from the presidential race.'"

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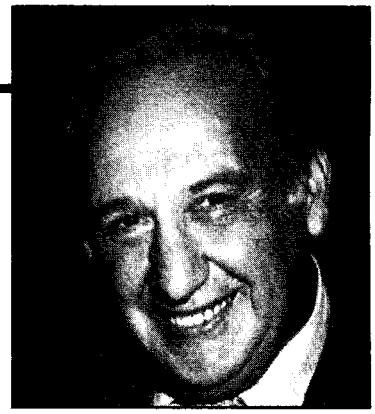
STRICTLY OPINION

*With this column, the **Journal** provides a forum for those wishing to express opinions on California political issues. Inquiries about future columns are encouraged.*



How to Win Campaigns in the '80s

By HAL EVRY

The trouble with campaigns today is that less than 1 percent of all candidates have any idea what they are doing or what they should do. They look to party leaders — who know even less — and to their peers who are equally ignorant of campaign procedures.

Most candidates see themselves on platforms with flags flying, banners waving and audiences bursting into cheers. This is something that happens in the movies but rarely in real life. Most important, candidates get mired in the tired old clichés which clog the pipes of American politics. These clichés are passed from generation to generation of the "backroom boys," the "clubhouse boys," the "big boys," the "central committees," the "precinct workers," the "volunteer workers," and the "grass roots" — all of which are simply self-serving terms to describe the tiny percentage of the public which takes an active interest in politics. Unfortunately, these clichés are perpetuated by party types and the hyped-up political reporters, none of whom is professionally trained in survey work or mass communication.

Fifteen years ago, Drew Pearson wrote that our firm — which has nothing to do with parties, either Democrat or Republican, or meetings, or shaking hands or personal contacts — was 30 years ahead of its time in campaign techniques. We seek to eliminate any candidate contact with political parties or meetings, and we discourage all other personal contact not geared to winning mass voter support. Several years ago we published the following 10 rules on How to Lose a Campaign and find that they are even more true today:

1. Don't announce candidacy until the last month; then surprise everyone.
2. Don't worry about money. Your friends and party workers will contribute when you ask them.
3. Go to party leaders for advice. They're experts in communications and know best what you should do.
4. Keep literature neatly piled in the garage until the day after election.
5. Send mail to "Occupant." It's cheaper that way.
6. If your wife doesn't like your television commercials, change them to suit her.
7. Call reporters at the newspaper every day just to say hello. They get lonesome when they don't hear from you.
8. Be at headquarters every night so your friends can see you.
9. Attend coffee klatches every day. It will keep you awake.
10. Don't bother with polls — just ask your friends how you are doing.

Until ESP or mass hypnosis becomes a reality, TV, radio, newspaper and direct mail are the only effective media of communication. And they cost money, thus precluding a poor candidate from running. This is all to the good, because a successful candidate who is poor is sure sucker-bait for vested interests. The large numbers of indicted congressmen, senators, governors and others are testimony to this fact.

The campaigns of the future will concentrate all efforts on locating the public, the voters in a district, and then polling them for their opinions of what's most important. Then, feed those opinions back to them via the media mentioned above. All the while, take periodic polls to see if the public's attitudes have been correctly assessed.

In the 1980s a new cult of institutional advertising men will come to the fore. Gone will be the party structure, which is already fragmented. Some independents will move forward, free from ties to the old, established rote maneuvers. Scientific samples of public opinion will be used constantly, so that campaign directors will have a permanent hand on the public pulse and will know what new treatments in communications are needed to insure victory for their candidates.

As far as we know, there are only 11 or 12 professional firms in the nation with the expertise to direct such campaigns. They come from research and advertising fields, not from newspapering or publicity. They put less stress on publicity and more on paid media which they can control. They will not depend on the media to tell the story, because that may not be the best for their candidate.

If you attempt to direct your own campaign, you're in trouble:

- If a reporter calls you about your campaign and you answer him.
- If a person tells you he's 100 percent for you and doesn't give you a check to prove it.
- If you are invited to a political meeting — and you attend.
- If you think about grass roots without thinking of what really fertilizes grass.
- And if you talk to poor people or non-voters. (You are wasting time.)

In a word, identify your public and go to them via well-planned media. It's not only more efficient; it's much easier and causes much less wear and tear. If winning is important — and it should be — hire a professional campaign consultant, early.

Hal Evry is a long-time Southern California political-campaign manager.

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Guide to who does what among major environmental organizations

By Stefan Reinke

State Resources Secretary Huey Johnson uses a chess-game analogy to describe the environmental movement in California. "The king represents a quality environment," he explains, "and the other chessmen are the environmental groups, each having a different value and movements they use to protect the king."

Using that analogy, California has about 1,200 chess pieces, some operating on a local basis and others affiliated with a national organization. Most of the 1,200 can be rated as pawns, and there are 18 that have emerged as knights, castles, bishops and queens. These major environmental organizations are engaged in six basic activities — litigation, land acquisition, advocacy, political action, public education and research, and the molding of public opinion. It is not at all uncommon for some of these organizations to engage in two or more of these activities, but most of them have carved out reputations as specialists in only one area. In addition, there are a few organizations — not nearly so numerous — which have been doing an effective job combatting the moves of the environmentalists. What follows is a guide to the major environmental organizations operating in California, categorized by their prime function:

Court action

Natural Resources Defense Council (25 Kearny Street, San Francisco 94108) — The prime role of the NRDC, according to staff counsel Jim Frankel, is "to represent the side that doesn't have representation." The Bay Area contingent, headed by Roger Beers, consists of seven lawyers, one scientist and two resources experts. The council is supported by foundation grants and contributions from 6,000 California members. The NRDC has been involved in recent cases dealing with nuclear

safety, coastline controls, forest protection and use of public land. The council developed its reputation in the courtroom but has also become a significant factor in the establishment of environmental policy in Sacramento. Tom Willoughby, chief consultant to the Assembly Resources, Land Use and Energy Committee, rates the Council among the top environmental lobbying groups in Sacramento even though the organization has tackled relatively few issues in the Capitol.

Environmental Defense Fund (2606 Dwight Way, Berkeley 94704) — The EDF is also a 6,000-member organization that receives much of its funding from foundation grants. The staff consists of a biologist and an economist in addition to attorneys. The EDF has been active in cases involving public-utility policy, the Auburn Dam and the East Bay Municipal Utility District (water). The organization is now working in the area of pesticides and toxic chemicals. The EDF is also engaged in lobbying and public-opinion activities.

Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund (311 California Street, San Francisco 94104) — This is the litigation arm of the Sierra Club, which provides Executive Director Rick Sutherland with technical assistance and other resources. The fund is involved in the issues of coastal zoning, Mono Lake, nuclear safety, desert preservation and location of a liquefied-natural-gas terminal.

Lobbying

Sierra Club (530 Bush Street, San Francisco 94108; 1107 Ninth Street, Sacramento 95814) — The Sierra Club is one of the few environmental lobbying organizations that generally is praised by legislators, staffers and even some opposition advocates. The club has four registered lobbyists, headed by John Zierold, a one-time Senate staffer. The main reason why the club's advocacy efforts win praise is that the organization provides well-prepared arguments on energy, coastal protection, chemical hazards and other issues — and tries to avoid stridency. Zierold explains that the Sierra Club is "active but not activist." The source of the club's power is its size — 90,000 members in California — and its wealth (a $7.5 million national budget last year). This leads to some descriptions of the club as "fat cat and elitist" — terms that upset Zierold, who emphasizes that his organization works closely with all the other environmental groups, depending upon the issue.

California Coastal Alliance II (717 K Street, Sacramento 95814) — The Coastal Alliance was originally formed to lobby for the enactment of a coastal protection bill and later to promote the successful initiative in 1972. It went out of business for a couple of years, then was reborn to fight the onslaught of legislation designed to "gut the Coastal Act and Coastal Commission," according to the alliance's Darlene Mitchelltree. The Alliance is trying to build its own membership so that it will not have to depend so heavily on the Planning and Conservation League for support. (Janet Adams, the organizer of the first Coastal Alliance, now lives in the Virgin Islands.)

Planning and Conservation League (717 K Street, Sacramento 95814) — The PCL is one of the mainstays of the environmental movement in California. It has 2,500 members and is active on virtually every environmental is-

Stefan Reinke prepared this article as a Journal intern on assignment from the Sacramento campus of the University of Southern California.

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sue. In recent years it has gone through major changes, tied to a succession of executive directors. The current director, David Abelson, claims there has been a recent decline in environmental concern and the PCL membership has been falling as well. Partly in an effort to rejuvenate itself, the PCL is sponsoring an initiative campaign to qualify a proposed "Environmental Bill of Rights" for the November ballot.

Friends of the Earth (717 K Street, Sacramento 95814) — Established 10 years ago by former Sierra Club leader David Brower, Friends of the Earth is one of the newer lobbying forces in the Sacramento environmental scene. The organization claims 7,000 California members and covers the spectrum of energy and environmental issues. The group also publishes books and a newsletter, "Not Man Apart."

Solar Use Now for Resources and Employment or SUNRAE (1107 Ninth Street, Sacramento 95814) — SUNRAE, which is dedicated to development of solar energy, is another recent arrival in Sacramento. The organization has 500 members and supports itself through membership contributions, sale of T-shirts and the operation of a recycling plant in Santa Barbara County. Alan Mirviss, who represents the organization in Sacramento, reports that his organization chooses not to march in the anti-nuclear parade but instead to emphasize the job potential of the solar-energy industry.

Californians Against Waste (1107 Ninth Street, Sacramento 95814) — This is a single-interest organization: The bylaws even call for CAW to disband as soon as California adopts a law mandating deposits on beverage containers. The organization currently is working for the passage of SB 4 by Senator Omer Rains. Amy Hewes, CAW lobbyist, reports that the organization has raised $47,000 over the past few years, but that is "nowhere near what the other side can raise." The other side consists of the glass, metal, soft-drink and beer industries.

Public opinion

Audubon Society (555 Audubon Place, Sacramento 95825) — The Audubon Society doesn't just count birds and issue beautiful publications. The 55,000 members of the organization play a major role in forming public opinion on environmental issues and influencing public policy. Richard Martyr, head of the society's regional office in Sacramento, reported that Audubon members are active letter writers and do not restrict their activities to local issues. California has 48 Audubon chapters, and each local committee works on local, state and national issues.

California Wilderness Coalition and **the Wilderness Society** (Post Office Box 891, Davis 95616) — The most important activity of these sister organizations is the publication of "Wild California," which identifies issues and gives the society's 9,000 California members names and addresses of those to contact for information or for applying political pressure. Mike Eaton, director of the coalition and regional director of the society, says his group tries to coordinate the activities of the numerous wildlife and wilderness organizations in the state.

Friends of the River (401 San Miguel Way, Sacramento 95819) — This organization has gone through several phases in its relatively short history. It was founded to save the Stanislaus River through the initiative process, an effort that failed. It later tried to work the Legislature on a variety of river issues without much success. Now, it is engaged in grassroots politics, publicity and court action. FOR's most successful event came when the 2,500-member organization's president, Mark Dubois, chained himself to a rock to prevent the filling of New Melones Reservoir. The event received national publicity, and Dubois halted the filling of the reservoir, at least temporarily.

Education and research

Citizens for a Better Environment (88 First Street, San Francisco 94105) — This Midwest-based organization has recently established offices in Berkeley and San Francisco. It concerns itself with research and public education on air, water and chemical pollution. Findings are disseminated through books, radio and television announcements, and neighborhood canvassing. CBE is headed by James Cannon, an authority on the production of energy from coal.

California Tomorrow (681 Market Street, San Francisco 94105) — This organization was formed almost 20 years ago to halt haphazard development in California. (It invented the term "slurbs.") The organization publishes the quarterly magazine "Cry California." It has 3,500 members and works to "identify and illuminate the major problems Californians face to protect natural environment, improve manmade environment, and guarantee opportunities for economic strength and personal fulfillment." It is now working on an economic and environmental plan for California in the year 2000.

Political action

California League of Conservation Voters (124 Spear Street, San Francisco 94105) — The two main functions of this group, which is allied with other major environmental organizations, is the endorsement of candidates and the surveillance of elected officials (a function that used to be handled by the defunct Legislative Birdwatchers, headed by Joan Reiss of Sacramento). CLCV has been especially successful in local elections, according to chairman Carl Pope, who also serves as assistant conservation director of the Sierra Club.

Land acquisition

Nature Conservancy (425 Bush Street, San Francisco 94108) — This organization finds ecologically significant lands or those that contain endangered species and purchases them or preserves them in some other manner. California is a major target for the national organization because there are more endangered species here than in any other state except Hawaii. The conservancy has 28 preserves in the state, and some of them have been turned over to public agencies for management. The Conservancy's biggest undertaking was the purchase of Santa Cruz Island off Santa Barbara.

Trust for Public Lands (82 Second Street, San Francisco 94105) — In 1973, the trust was founded by Huey

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Johnson and others from the conservancy who saw a need to protect open space "in the city as well as the wild." The trust works with local leaders to develop parks and gardens and then turn them over to the communities.

Two others

Greenpeace Foundation (Fort Mason, San Francisco 94123) — Formed to fight nuclear energy, Greenpeace is now best known for its efforts to protect seals and whales. The organization is considering a more active role in California politics. The San Francisco chapter has been the biggest fund-raiser of any Greenpeace outpost in the world.

Corporation for the Environment (1107 Ninth Street, Sacramento 958114) — This is a fledgling organization trying to bring together economic interests with an economic stake in a quality environment. It plans to present legislators with economic-benefit arguments for the passage of environmental-protection legislation.

Selected Government Reports

State Policies and Federal Programs: Priorities and Constraints: A Twentieth Century Fund Report, by Peter Passell and Leonard Ross. Focuses on the disparate division of resources by the federal government among the states, and what California may expect under present constraints. 192 pp. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York. ($16.95)

State Energy Policy Issues, by Steven Elstein for the Council of State Governments. 1979. 27 pp. Available as RM-674 from the Council, Iron Works Pike, Lexington, KY 40578. ($4.00)

Pedestrian Rules of the Road in California, by the California State Department of Education. 1979. Illustrated primer for pedestrians. 43 pp. In the same series: **Bicycle Rules of the Road in California.** Both are available from the department, PO Box 271, Sacramento, 95802. ($1.5) each, plus tax)

The Effect of Growth Management on New Housing Prices: Petaluma, California, by Seymour I. Schwartz, David E. Hansen, Richard Green, William G. Moss, and Richard Belzer for the Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis. 1979. What one town's stringent growth-control did to housing costs. 75 pp. Available from the Institute, UC Davis, 95616. ($3.50)

Financing the 1976 Election, by Herbert E. Alexander, published by the Congressional Quarterly Press. 1979. Advertised as the most comprehensive study ever to be published on political financing during a presidential year. 870 pp., appendix, index, hard cover. Available from Citizens' Research Foundation, University of Southern California, Research Annex, 3716 So. Hope Street, Los Angeles, 90007.

Principles, Objectives and Curricula for Programs in the Education of Gifted and Talented Pupils. Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve, by the California State Department of Education. 1979. 114 pp. Available from the department, PO Box 271, Sacramento, 95802.

A Review of the California Youth Authority's Education Program, a report to the Legislature by the State Auditor General. 48 pp. Available as Report 819 from the Joint Legislative Audit Committee, Suite 750, 925 L St., Sacramento, CA 95814.

Availability of Transportation Funds, a report to the State Legislature by the Auditor General. 150 pp. Available as Report 854 from the Joint Legislative Audit Committee, Suite 750, 925 L St., Sacramento, CA 95814.

The Changing American Jury: Observing the Eighth Anniversary of the Beginning of Its End, by Peter W. Sperlich for the American Political Science Association. 41 pp. Available from the Institute of Governmental Studies, 109 Moses Hall, U.C., Berkeley, CA 94720. ($2 plus tax)

Proposition 13 Research Inventory: A Partial Inventory of Research in the State of California and Elsewhere, by Nicholas D. Bevilacqua and Theresa M. Larson. 100 pp. Available from the Institute of Governmental Studies, 109 Moses Hall, U.C., Berkeley, CA 94720. ($2 plus tax)

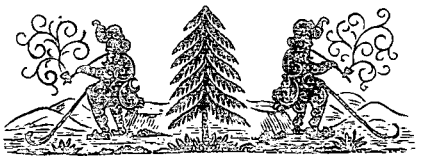
Constitutional Officers, Agencies, Boards and Commissions in California State Government, 1849 to 1975, by Elizabeth A. Capell for the Institute of Governmental Studies, U.C. Berkeley. 61 pp. Available as Research Report 77-1 from the Institute, 109 Moses Hall, U.C., Berkeley, CA 94720. ($3.50 plus tax)

Making Government Work: A Common Cause Report on State Sunset Activity, prepared by Betsy Sherman of Common Cause. Available from Common Cause, 2030 M St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. ($3)

Policy Implications of California's Changing Life Styles, by Ted K. Bradhsaw and Edward J. Blakely, published for the California Policy Seminar by the Institute of Governmental Studies. 30 pp. Available from the Institute, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. ($3.50)

Life Cycle Planning, by Noreen Dolwig, published by the Institute of Governmental Affairs. 1979. Explores options to traditional work, especially public employment. 83 pp. Available from the Institute, University of California, Davis, CA 95616. ($4.50)

. . . And the anti-environmentalists



The 1970s produced a new breed of public-interest organizations specializing in environmental issues — groups providing political and legal opposition to the ecologists. These anti-environmentalist organizations, which prefer to call themselves free-enterprise advocates, were formed by business, labor, developers, property owners and other economic interests. The three most significant ones:

Pacific Legal Foundation (455 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814) — Established in 1973 with strong backing from the California Chamber of Commerce, PLF is dedicated to "the free enterprise system, limited government and fighting government regulations." It has been extremely successful in fighting the environmentalists in the legal arena, winning 80 percent of its lawsuits. (For a detailed look at the organization, see "Pacific Legal Foundation, nemesis of the environmentalists," *CJ*, July 1979.)

California Council for Environmental and Economic Balance (215 Market Street, San Francisco 94105) — Former Governor Pat Brown served as founding chairman of this organization, formed in 1973 to prevent the environmentalists from hurting the California economy. It is supported by business and labor, and the present emphasis is on energy." Current chairwoman Katherine Dunlap claims "energy is the key issue, for everything we do is dependent on energy." CCEEB is a backer of nuclear power and has expanded its activities beyond legislative advocacy into research and public education.

California Coastal Council (800 Garden Street, Santa Barbara 93101) — This organization represents at least 8,000 Californians who are trying to fight the state's coastal-protection act and the California Coastal Commission. Joseph Mastroianni, the council's executive director, said one major goal of his group is to show Californians "what's being done in the name of the environment." The council is trying to convince the public and the Legislature that the current coastal-protection laws have taken too much authority away from local government.

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following is a list of significant bills pending before the Legislature in mid-January:

SUBJECT	BILLS	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
ABORTION	AB 1348 (Egeland)	Originally introduced to liberalize Medi-Cal abortion coverage. Amended over author's objections to enact restrictions on Medi-Cal abortions.	*Senate-Assembly conference committee.*
AGRICULTURAL LAND	AB 262 ACA 20 (Lehman)	Prohibits the sale of California farmland to non-resident aliens.	*AB 262 is in the Assembly Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee. ACA 20 is on the Assembly floor.*
BUSING	SB 1244 (Robbins)	Requires plaintiffs, in school integration litigation, to prove the existence of segregation instead of requiring school district to prove it did not engage in intentional segregation.	*Assembly Judiciary Committee.*
CRIMINAL JUSTICE	SB 450 (Nielsen) SCA 17 (Presley) ACA 26 (McAlister)	Grants to the prosecution the same pre-trial discovery rights and the right to a speedy trial now granted to the defense; requires consideration of public safety factors in the granting of bail; limits state Supreme Court's use of the independent-state-grounds doctrine.	*SB 450 is in the Senate Judiciary Committee. SCA 17 and ACA 26 are in the Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
	SB 500 (Robbins) SB 365 (Watson)	Limit psychiatric examinations of victims of sexual assault.	*Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
ELECTIONS	AB 870 ACA 31 (Hannigan)	Require that elections to fill vacancies in trial courts be held at the next statewide election.	*Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee.*
EMPLOYMENT	AB 1 (Agnos) SB 18 (Roberti)	Prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation or a refusal to grant sexual favors.	*SB 18 was defeated by the Senate Industrial Relations Committee, effectively killing AB 1 as well.*
ENERGY	SB 778 (Keene)	Abolishes the State Energy Commission and creates a new Energy Conservation and Development Agency and a Department of Energy.	*Assembly Resources, Land Use and Energy Committee.*
GOVERNOR	AB 1955 (Johnson)	Eliminates governor's authority to fill vacancies on county boards of supervisors.	*Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*
HEALTH CARE	AB 157 (Berman)	Guarantees patients access to their medical records.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
	AB 1956 (Tucker)	Permits minors to receive medical treatment without parental consent.	*Assembly Health Committee.*
	AB 1957 (Filante)	Repeals requirement that medical staff members of a health facility have malpractice insurance.	*Assembly Health Committee.*
HOSPITAL COSTS	AB 1388 (Torres)	Enacts California Health Facilities Cost Accountability Act to regulate hospital rates and budgets.	*Assembly Ways and Means Committee.*
MARIJUANA	AB 315 (Willie Brown)	Establishes a new penalty structure for persons convicted of growing marijuana.	*Assembly floor.*
MEDI-CAL	SB 716 (Garamendi)	Department of Health Services proposal to revise major elements of the Medi-Cal program.	*Senate Finance Committee.*
	AB 1487 (Filante)	Replaces the existing Medi-Cal program with an alternate system by 1981.	*Assembly Health Committee.*
UNMARRIED PERSONS	AB 564 (Ingalls)	Requires that contracts between unmarried cohabiting persons regarding the division of property be in writing.	*Assembly Judiciary Committee.*
WATER RESOURCES	SB 200 (Ayala)	Authorizes the construction of the Peripheral Canal, the Mid-Valley Canal and other water projects.	*Senate floor.*
WELFARE	SB 1248 (Campbell)	Repeals automatic annual cost-of-living increases for recipients of AFDC and SSI/SSP.	*Senate Health and Welfare Committee.*
	AB 393 (Stirling)	Requires aliens to present documentation of their alien status before public social services could be provided.	*Assembly Human Resources Committee.*

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Thar she blows

By Leo Rennert

In the next few years, Californians won't have to look at far-away sheikdoms along the Persian Gulf to catch a glimpse of all that fabled oil wealth. They'll be able to witness a first-class gusher of petrodollars just by keeping an eye on the state treasury in Sacramento. Oil revenues will be pouring into the state's coffers at a record pace in the 1980s. The windfall for California and its taxpayers will be $6 billion over the next 10 years, according to initial state estimates. The U.S. Treasury Department is much more optimistic and puts a price tag of $22 billion on California's expected bonanza. Before it's over, state Treasurer Jesse Unruh may become the Sheik Yamani of California.

THE STATE'S NEW BOOM in oil revenues is traceable directly to President Carter's order for gradual decontrol of domestic crude prices. As the price of oil produced in California reaches OPEC levels, the state will get an increasingly bigger cut. Royalties from drilling on state-owned fields will shoot up. So will state corporate taxes and other levies on ballooning profits of oil companies operating in California. The net result may well be a love-hate relationship with OPEC. Every time the world cartel raises its prices, Californians may gnash their teeth as motorists but rejoice as taxpayers.

Howard Jarvis already has spotted the connection. In promoting the Jarvis II initiative to cut peronal income taxes in half, he is arguing that the new onrush of oil receipts should help cushion the revenue loss his ballot measure would cause. State officials may counter that's like trying to stem a big hemorrhage with a small band-aid. But since nobody knows exactly how big the oil bonanza will turn out to be, many Californians could catch oil fever as they head for the voting booths.

California's new oil riches also have attracted attention in Washington, where non-oil states are casting an envious eye on oil-producing areas. A new political alignment of haves and have-nots has emerged. The first shot was fired by the have-nots before Christmas when Missouri Senator John Danforth offered an amendment to impose a federal tax on state oil revenues. If it makes sense for the federal government to tax the windfall profits of oil companies, it ought to make equal sense to take a chunk out of the bulging coffers of oil states for the good of the entire nation, he argued.

Armed with figures supplied by the Treasury Department, Danforth estimated that decontrol of oil will give state and local governments a revenue windfall of $128 billion in the 1980s, with most of the money ending up in just four states — Alaska, $37.3 billion; Texas, $33.2 billion; California, $21.8 billion, and Louisiana, $13.8 billion. Predictably, the Big Four already have been dubbed the United American Emirates. If oil states are allowed to hoard their new riches, Danforth warned, the United States will be split into two economic camps — with a handful of rich states capable of offering juicy tax inducements to steal industries away from less affluent states.

"They will conduct the most effective economic warfare against the rest of the country ever dreamed of," Danforth told the Senate. "They will build factories at nominal rentals, make loans at nominal interest. If the people from Chrysler states — and I happen to be one of them — think we're having problems now, just wait until one plant after another is picked off all over the rest of the country and this mecca is created in just four states. Oil consumers in all states will finance it, and oil-producing states will benefit."

To pour more salt in the wound of non-oil areas, Danforth and his supporters were able to point out that the rising tide of petrodollars will qualify oil states for a bigger slice of federal revenue-sharing funds. Since revenue-sharing money is allocated partly on the basis of a state's "tax effort," the more oil taxes Sacramento collects, the more revenue-sharing aid California can claim from Washington. The rich get richer . . .

Oil-state senators countered by warning that once the federal treasury gets its hand on state oil revenues, a precedent would be created for taxing state receipts from coal and other mineral extraction or timber operations. California Senator Alan Cranston assailed the Danforth amendment as a "radical" attack on states' rights. "My state is not the Exxon Corporation," he declared. The biggest weapon of the oil bloc was Russell Long of Louisiana. As chairman of the Finance Committee, Long was manager of Carter's oil windfall-profits tax bill on the Senate floor. But he's also running for re-election in oil-rich Louisiana. Quietly but firmly, he passed the word that there would be no tax bill if the Senate sided with Danforth. The Missourian's amendment was fairly modest in its proposed tax bite on oil states. It would have cost them $10.5 billion over the next 10 years. California would have been nicked for $2 billion. When the shouting ended, the Senate took its cue from Long and buried the Danforth proposal by a vote of 65 to 28. Both sides, however, agree this was only the first round.

For the next couple of years, until state receipts from the new oil bonanza actually can be pinned down, wildly conflicting estimates are bound to clutter the debate. For example, in projecting a $22 billion windfall for California, the Treasury Department assumes that the price of oil will rise from $30 a barrel this year to $74 by 1990. Since world prices for crude doubled in just the last 12 months, it would seem that a 150 percent increase for the next 10 years is not out of line. The federal forecast also assumes a rising oil production curve in California — particularly in view of Carter's recent decision to lift immediately all price controls on the state's heavy oil instead of waiting until October, 1981.

CALIFORNIA STATE OFFICIALS are much less bullish. They project a barrel price of only $40 by the end of the decade. The Iranian crisis, they argue, has hidden from view a glut in the world supply that actually could force oil prices down one of these days. They're also skeptical of how much demand there will be for the state's heavy oil, which is more difficult to extract and refine.

Still, when you look at recent oil-price performance, history seems to be on the side of the bulls — not the bears. California may be crying all the way to the bank.

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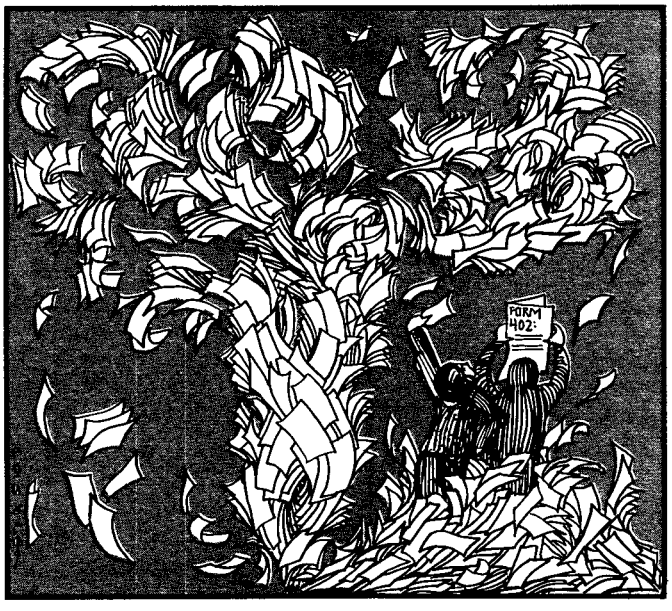
COMING NEXT MONTH:

The 1980-81 edition of the California Journal

Practical Guide to State and National Campaign Reform Laws



Over the past four years, this 12-page *California Journal* publication has become the bible for Californians participating in the political process. The new edition will be included in the March issue of the *Journal* and also will be available as a separate reprint. The Guide is designed to help anyone involved in a California campaign — candidate, campaign treasurer, committee member, contributor — comply with the ever-changing maze of laws and regulations covering state and national elections.

The Guide is authored by Lance H. Olson, a Sacramento attorney specializing in political-reform law and the former editor and publisher of Campaign Law Reporter. It is prepared in an easy-to-follow, question-and-answer format designed to help the citizen avoid trouble with the law.

Sections include: Who must file reports? What must be disclosed? When and where must statements be filed? What is prohibited? And it covers both federal and state offices.

Copies of the Guide are available — with no increase in price: 100 or more copies, 40 cents each; 11-99 copies, 50 cents each; 2-9 copies, 75 cents each; single copy, $1. Add 6 percent sales tax to all but single-copy orders. Postage and handling are free on prepaid. Visa and Master Charge orders. Send orders to the California Journal Press, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento 95814.

Things may come to those who wait, but only the things left by those who hustle.

— Abraham Lincoln

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